

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

**GREAT
SUFİ POETS
OF
THE PUNJAB**

DEAR MR
MAMZOOY DOLKw

by
R. M. CHOPRA
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27 March 2014

Foreword
by

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**IRAN SOCIETY
CALCUTTA**

Great Soul Poets of The Punjab

THE GREAT SUFI POETS OF THE PUNJAB

BY
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Foreword
by

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INDIAN SOCIETY
CALCUTTA

FROM IRAN SOCIETY

Sufism is a catholic development of a system of thought in Islam which, in the medieval age, found special favour in India, in general, and in the Punjab, in particular. The Sufis came to believe in pacifism and contentment, non-violence and benevolence, the immanence of God and a simple life, intoxicated with truth. The concept of Sufism flourished from Persia.

The whole system of Sufism centres round two questions : firstly, 'How is man to realise God in himself ?' and, secondly, 'What is God in relation to the individual and the creation ?' In answer to the first, Sufism shows path - *tariqat* - and, in answer to the second, it imparts gnosis - *ma'rifat* - or knowledge which describes God, both monistically as well as in all nature.

The super-structure of Sufism is built upon two corner stones, namely, (1) teacher, *pir* or *murshid*, and (2) love. In order to be initiated into the Sufi cult, one has to have implicit faith in his teacher whose commands are divine oriented and who is considered supreme for his disciple. Sufi is expected to possess abundant store of love. A Sufi's love must not only be pure and transparent but also selfless and voluntary for which he must not expect a return. His love should be able to attract not only the creation, but also the Creator.

Mr. Ravindra Mohan Chopra, M. A., LL. B., a worthy son inheriting literary disposition from his talented father, the late Dr. Hira Lall Chopra M.A. (Punjab), D. Litt. (Teheran), had a brilliant academic career culminating in his obtaining First Class in M.A. in the Islamic History and Culture from Calcutta University in 1956. His love for things Punjabi and fondness for *Punjabiya*t is proverbial. He has not only contributed many articles to Indian and foreign journals on topics of general interest but also has authored two learned works, *THE LEGACY OF THE PUNJAB* and *THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL*. His writing is free-flowing, deeply absorbing, eminently readable and a voyage of learning.

In this book, the *GREAT SUFI POETS OF THE PUNJAB*, Mr Chopra has attempted to trace the history of philosophic development of Sufism before it traversed to the Punjab and established its roots firmly there. He has also expounded how Sufism led the vanguard of progress in Punjabi language and literature and was largely responsible for creating the composite culture of the land of five rivers.

By a skillful selection of highly spiritual and full of Love Divine verses of the great Sufi poets of the Punjab, which are printed in the book in Persian, Devnagari and Roman scripts, with translation into English, for easy understanding even by those who are not acquainted with Punjabi language, Mr. Chopra has rendered a commendable scholastic job for the benefit of all those who cherish mysticism and seek Love Divine.

We, of the Iran Society, feel that this work of Mr. R. M. Chopra will be a useful addition to Sufi literatures and will benefit both the researchers and general readers alike.

JUSTICE K. M. YUSUF

IRAN SOCIETY

CALCUTTA

Calcutta

November 2, 1999.

PREFACE

Whenever I chanced upon to hear melodies of Punjabi Sufi poets sung by folk-singers, *qawwaals* or other accomplished musicians, I was always fascinated by their mysticism, their professed love for the Divine Beloved, their sincerity of purpose, the simplicity of their language, down-to-earth similes, most appropriate metaphors to drive home a point, and, some times, I wondered how very rich these compositions were in content, which, in fact, spurred me on to undertake study of Punjabi Sufi poetry in greater detail. During the course of this study, I was pleasantly surprised when, in my search, I came across a treasure-trove of Divine Knowledge and Spiritual Realisation of a high order. It was also learnt that how these Sufi poets exercised a profound influence in the lives of the people and were responsible to a great extent for evolving a composite culture of the Punjab. They not only led the vanguard of progress in Punjabi language and literature but also, by the nobility of their pious feelings and rhythmic rendition, inspired the people to seek the Divine Love.

The history of the Punjab from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries has seen many storms and peaceful interludes. These vicissitudes are reflected in the poetry of the Sufis. The Sufis, in the process, contributed a great deal in maintaining mental equilibrium of diverse communities in troublous times in the medieval ages. Their friendly and tolerant utterances retained the favour of both the Hindus as well as the Muslims and influenced the people's thought and sent the message of peace, love, fellowship, understanding and amity to every home and hamlet. They bestowed a remarkable legacy of communal harmony for posterity.

I have tried to capture the essence of Sufi sayings and elaborate them into this book with the hope that it may help others in understanding the great Punjabi Sufi poets of yore and their contribution to bringing about a spirit of solidarity amongst different communities. It is not in any way an exhaustive study of the subject.

As the Punjabi poetry was written by the Sufis in Persian script and, to maintain authenticity and originality, the verses of the Sufi poets in the book have been printed in Persian, as also in Devnagari and Roman scripts for easy comprehension and wider understanding. As regards the translations, or transliterations as some would prefer to call them, I would like to mention

that it is not possible to preserve in any translation or transliteration the inherent depth, beauty and charm of the original, but for the benefit of those who are not so well-acquainted with the Punjabi language it was considered necessary that explanations in the form of translation should be given. So an attempt has been made to give a sense atleast.

Another object which has prompted me in writing this book is that after truncation of the Punjab, in the wake of partition of India into Bharat and Pakistan in 1947 A.D., the original sources of information, regrettably, are fast disappearing. I felt that I must explore, exploit and, where still possible, preserve this information, before it is too late.

To me the study of poetry of the great Punjabi Sufi poets has been a source of tremendous strength, happiness and satisfaction. In the pious, full of Love Divine and rhythmic poetry of the Sufis of the Punjab, I have always found gems of wisdom, high intellect, profound spiritualism, hidden advices, solace and glory of the Divine Beloved, which brings peace and tranquillity upon mind and spirit. I can only hope that this book will enable many others to derive the same benefits.

A comprehensive glossary deals with the Sufistic terms to be found in the book. I have prepared this glossary as a sort of Sufistic dictionary and attempted to give various meanings of the words which, I believe, will be found useful in allegorical interpretation of Sufistic terms.

I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Syed Amir Hassan Abidi, Professor Emeritus, Department of Persian, University of Delhi, for favouring me greatly by writing a valuable 'Foreword' to this book.

I am grateful to Iran Society of Calcutta, a premier literary society in eastern India, for undertaking the onerous task of publication of this book which is expected to be especially useful for all those who cherish and seek Love Divine.

R. M. CHOPRA

Calcutta

August 1999.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Padmashree Dr. S. A. H. Abidi, an eminent scholar, who has favoured me greatly by writing a valuable 'Foreword' to this book.

I am greatly indebted to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice K. M. Yusuf for his kind advice, help and inspiration in completing this book.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my indebtedness to the Hon'ble Mr. Hashim Abdul Halim, Speaker of West Bengal Legislative Assembly, who is also the President, Mr. A. B. Rabadi, Vice-President, and Mr. M. A. Majid, Secretary, Iran Society, who have helped me in this venture.

I am also indebted to Prof. Manal Shah Alquadri, Dr. Mansoor Alam and Mr. Alquama Shibli Nomani for their active support and co-operation and Mr. M. L. Malhotra for giving helpful suggestions on some of the topics in the book.

Sincere thanks are due to my wife Mrs. Adarsh Chopra, my daughter Dr. Anu Dhawan and my son Shiv Rahul Chopra for assisting me in compositions and proof reading.

R. M. CHOPRA

Published by :-

IRAN SOCIETY

12, Dr. M. Ishaque Road

Calcutta - 700 016

☎ : 226-9899

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Price :

Indian Rs. 495/-

£ Stg. 16/-

U.S. \$ 24/-

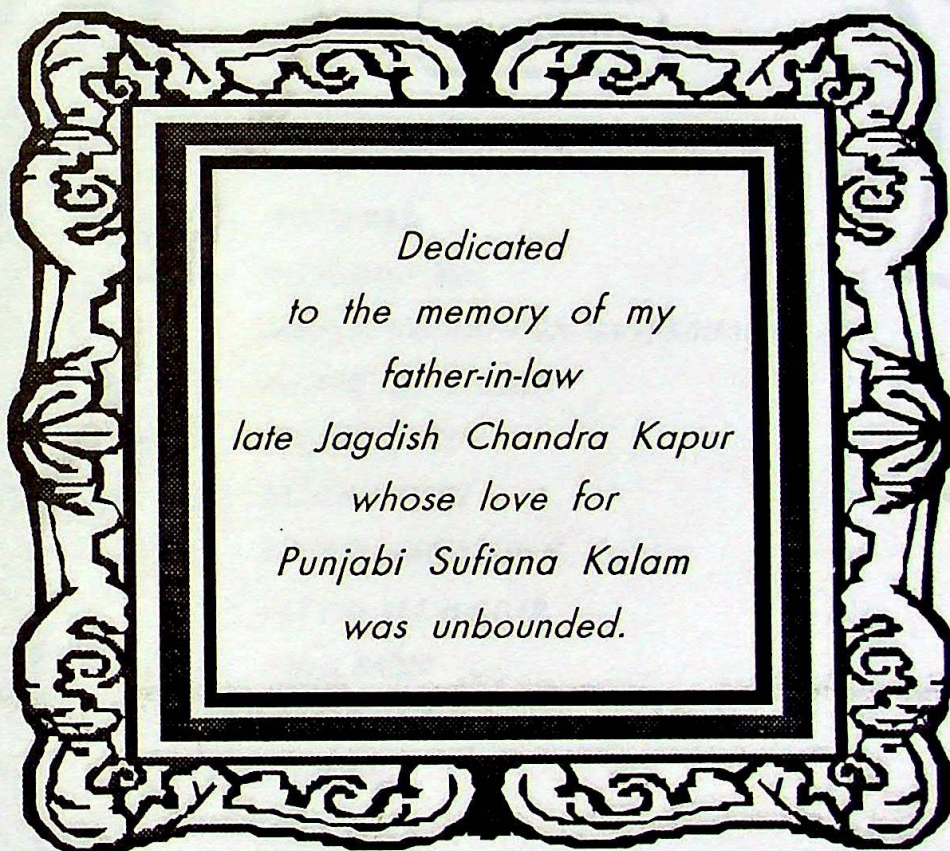
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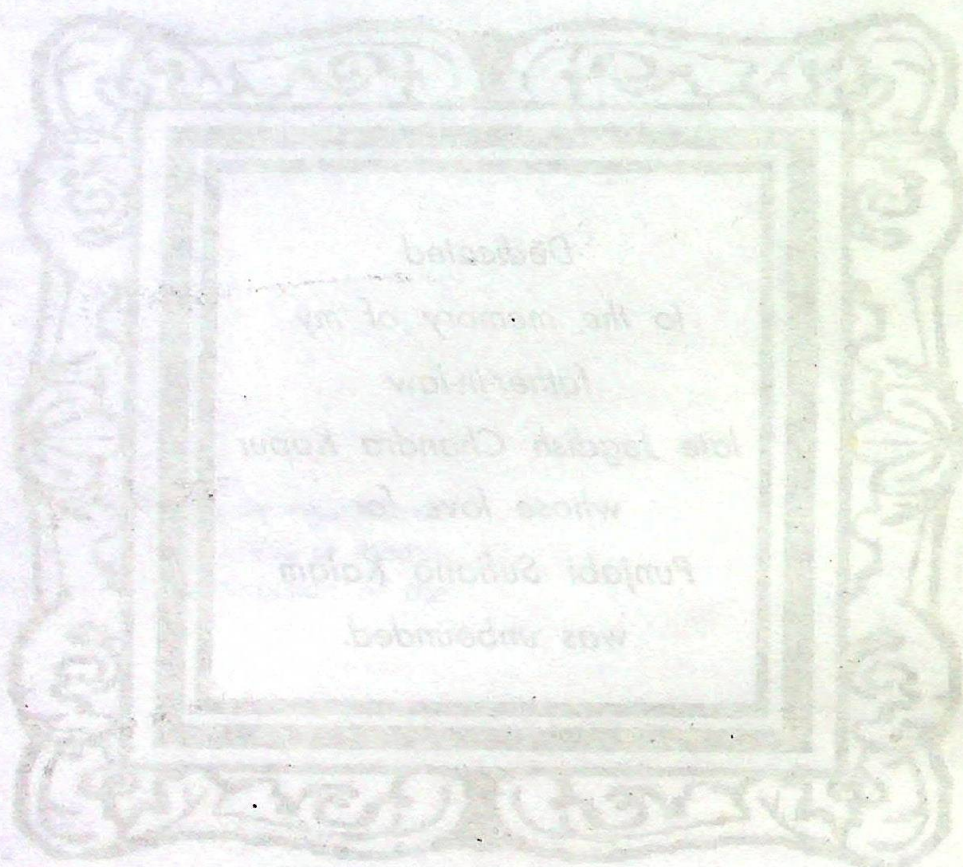
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Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

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FOREWORD

Mysticism is a constant and eternal phenomenon of the universal yearning of human soul to have direct communion with the Creator. It is essentially the same in all religions. Sufism is the name given to mysticism of Islam. The central core of Sufism revolves round the strict Islamic principles, teachings and code of conduct.

In the wake of conquest of the Punjab by Mahmud Ghaznavi and, later, by Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori, Sufis started coming from Iran, Afghanistan and other Islamic centres in Central Asia to the Punjab from the eleventh century A.D., and settled there to preach. From the early thirteenth century, to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Sufis exercised a profound influence on the people of the Punjab. Their winsome personalities, friendly spirit, patience, tolerance and humanitarian work endeared them to the people of all communities who always thronged to listen to their words of wisdom and seek their blessings. In order to reach the common people, the Sufis sang their love for the Divine Beloved in the local dialects drawing imagery from country-life and local customs prevalent in the Punjab so as to make themselves easily comprehensible to the simple village folks. In the process, the Sufis not only enriched the Punjabi language but also gave an abiding place to Sufi thought and verse in Punjabi literature.

Punjabi Sufi poetry sings primarily of Love and God. Both these themes are intertwined. In fact, Divine Knowledge and Spiritual Realisation are the ideals pursued by it. Mysticism is more predominant than materialism in Punjabi Sufi poets' temperament which found expression in their verses.

Mr. R. M. Chopra has, in this treatise, presented the great Sufi poets of the Punjab. It begins with the highly spiritual poetry of Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar (1172-1267), and covers other renowned and great Sufi poets as Shah Husain,

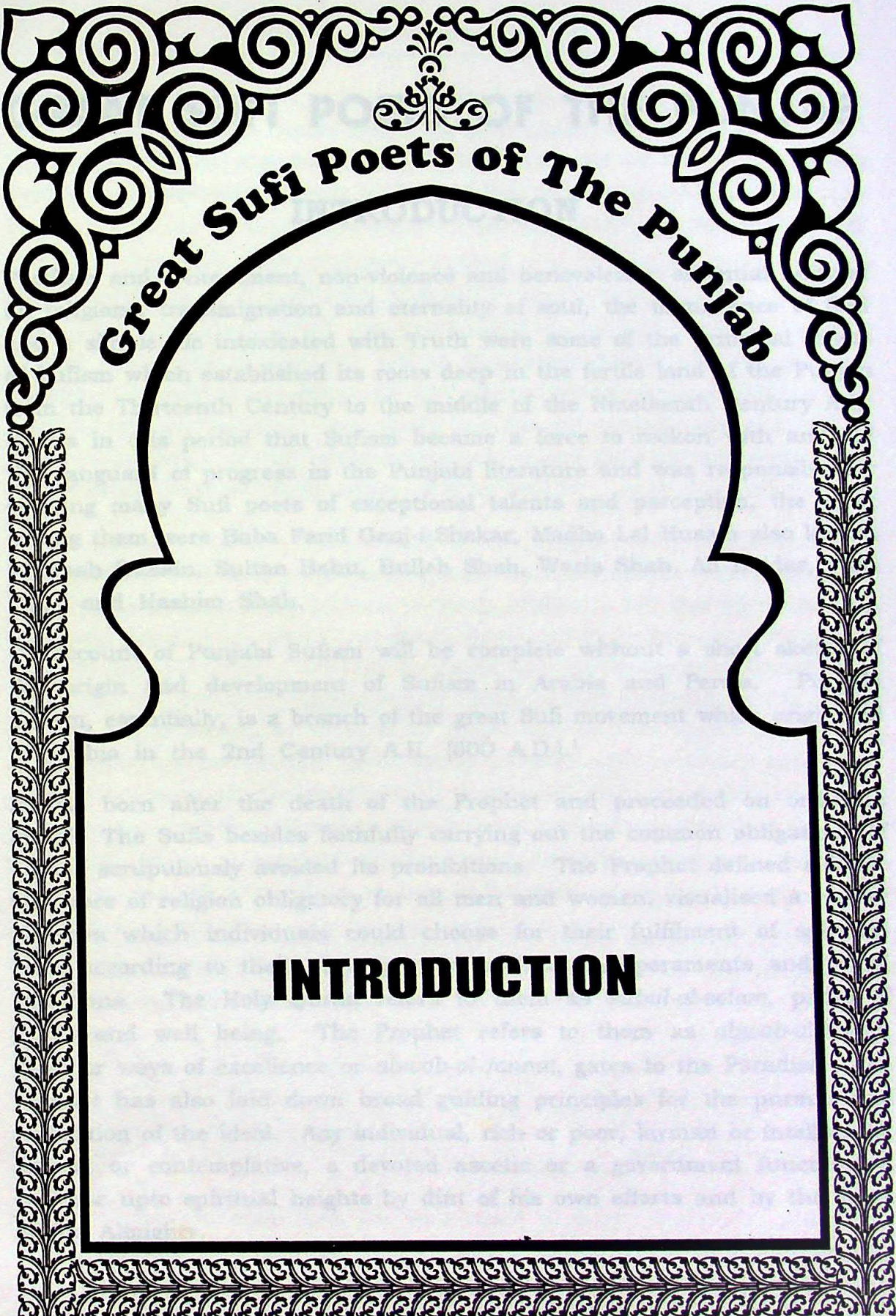
Sultan Bahu, Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah, Ali Haidar, Fard Faqir and ends with the nineteenth century Sufi poet Hashim Shah (1752-1821).

The history of the Punjab from the thirteenth to nineteenth century has seen turbulent times and peaceful interludes which are some times reflected in the Sufi poetry of the period. During the turbulent times, the Sufis with their spiritual knowledge, mystic utterances and inspiring verses containing sagacious counsels attempted to create friendly feelings among different communities and maintained the mental equilibrium and sent the message of peace, love, fellowship and harmony to every nook and corner. They tried to infuse a spirit of solidarity which has, in fact, created the composite culture of the land of five rivers. The credit of actually sowing the seeds of secularism in the Punjab goes to these Sufi poets.

By a judicious selection of extracts from the verses of the great Sufi poets of the Punjab, which are printed in the book in Persian, Devnagari and Roman scripts with transliterations in English for easy comprehension, Mr. R. M. Chopra has done a commendable scholarly work with a view to preserving for posterity this remarkable common heritage which may inspire the coming generations to seek the Divine Love and re-establish moral and spiritual values in the society.

S. A. H. ABIDI

New Delhi,
10th August, 1999



Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

INTRODUCTION

GREAT SUFI POETS OF THE PUNJAB

INTRODUCTION

Pacifism and contentment, non-violence and benevolence, essential unity of all religions, transmigration and eternality of soul, the immanence of God and a simple life intoxicated with Truth were some of the principal tenets of Sufism which established its roots deep in the fertile land of the Punjab from the Thirteenth Century to the middle of the Nineteenth Century A.D. It was in this period that Sufism became a force to reckon with and led the vanguard of progress in the Punjabi literature and was responsible for creating many Sufi poets of exceptional talents and perception, the great among them were Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, Madho Lal Husain also known as Shah Husain, Sultan Bahu, Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah, Ali Haidar, Fard Faqir and Hashim Shah.

No account of Punjabi Sufism will be complete without a short sketch of the origin and development of Sufism in Arabia and Persia. Punjabi Sufism, essentially, is a branch of the great Sufi movement which originated in Arabia in the 2nd Century A.H. (800 A.D.).¹

It was born after the death of the Prophet and proceeded on orthodox lines.² The Sufis besides faithfully carrying out the common obligations of Islam scrupulously avoided its prohibitions. The Prophet defined a basic structure of religion obligatory for all men and women, visualised a variety of ways which individuals could choose for their fulfilment of spiritual ends according to their own aptitude, abilities, temperaments and social situations. The Holy Quran refers to them as *subul-al-salam*, paths of peace and well being. The Prophet refers to them as *abwab-al-khayr*, gates or ways of excellence or *abwab-al-Jannat*, gates to the Paradise. The Prophet has also laid down broad guiding principles for the pursuit and realisation of the ideal. Any individual, rich or poor, layman or intellectual, activist or contemplative, a devoted ascetic or a government functionary, can rise upto spiritual heights by dint of his own efforts and by the grace of the Almighty.

People who had ascetic tendencies led hard lives. Asceticism soon passed into mysticism and the followers came to be known as Sufis.³ This term was given to them because they wore woollen garments. The term, *labis'al-suf*, (**لَابِسُ السُّوفِ**) meant 'he clad himself in wool' and applied to a person who renounced the world and became an ascetic.⁴

It must be understood that mysticism is common to all religions as it is the eternal yearning of the human soul to have a direct experience of the Ultimate Reality. The mystic sentiment grows out of the human aspiration for personal and direct experience of the Supreme Lord. When strong spiritual emotion cannot be satisfied by the orthodox or formal approach to the Supreme Being, the mystic ideals are cherished and cultivated. These are unvarying phenomena of yearning of the human spirit for personal communion with God. Sufism is the name given to the mysticism of Islam.⁵

The central core of Islamic teaching is the doctrine that God is One; that He has no partners or equals to share or contest His Omnipotence. A few men have been called to be God's Prophets, whose duty from Adam to Muhammad, was simply to call mankind to Him. They are the vehicles of the Divine Message to humanity; otherwise the Prophets are men like other men, except as God has willed them to be recipients of His special Grace and Favours. The Prophet is not to be worshipped, for this would constitute polytheism and infidelity (**كُفْرٌ** *Kufr*), though he must be revered and imitated because he has been spoken to by God and chosen by Him to be His messenger. For the Muslim God's Message is wholly contained in the Quran and the chosen Messenger is Muhammad.⁶

Accordingly, it is to the Quran that the Muslim mystic looks for guidance and justification and seeks to copy the example set by the Prophet Muhammad and tries to live righteously and humbly in the sight of God and man. Therefore, Sufi is bound to study the life of Muhammad (**سِرَاءٌ** *Sira*) in order to comprehend his code of conduct (**سُنَّةٌ** *Sunna*) and he must be properly acquainted with the Traditions (**حَدِيثٌ** *Hadith*), handed down from generation to generation. The *Hadith* is the second most important pillar after the Quran upon which he may draw enlightenment.⁷

The Sufis, therefore, tried to learn how the holy men of yore, who are considered to be the friends of the Prophet, also known as **أَوْلِيَاءُ** *Auliya*

(singular *Wali* ولی) conducted themselves in private and in public, committing to mind and heart the words of wisdom and sanctity and the heavenly love. These the Sufis took to be the third pillar. Finally, in the life of sincere obedience to the Will of God, guided by the Word of God, the Life of His Prophet, and the example set by his *Auliyas*, the Sufi may follow the path, passing through the various states (*Ahwal* احوال) and stages (*Maqamat* مقامات) of his spiritual pilgrimage, he encounters many proofs of special relationship in which he stands to God, (*Karamat* کرامات) miracles formed the fourth pillar of his edifice of righteousness.⁸ Accordingly, the Muslim mystic hopes to win a glimpse of immortality in his mortal life by passing away from Self (*Fana* فنا) into the consciousness of survival in God (*Baqā* بقا). After death he aspires to dwell for ever with angles and prophets in the blissful presence of the Almighty.

"Poverty is my pride".⁹ This saying of the Prophet, afterwards taken as the watchword of many Sufi orders, reflects the generally accepted views that the founder of Islam lived lowly and humbly all his life and even when the riches came to him in later years he did not change the austerity of his habits. Poverty brings out two virtues; namely, it encourages abstemiousness and the eschewing of unlawful pleasure, and it stimulates trust in God.

Sufism is a natural phenomenon that develops from the impact of external forces with internal conditions. Hence, in a comprehensive view, all these facts have to be taken into consideration, for it cannot be attributed to any single influence.¹⁰ On the internal side the social, political and economic conditions of the time and on the external side the presence of foreign influences - Neo-Platonic, Persian and Indian, both Vedantic and Buddhist - collectively favoured the growth of mystic tendencies.

The structure of Sufism is based on two bed-rocks, namely "Love of God" and "personal contact with Him" which means *Ma'rifat* or Gnosis¹¹, repeated references to this have been made in the Holy Quran which, later on, came to be known in Sufistic parlance as *wasl* or *wasal* (union with the Lord).

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISTIC IDEOLOGY

Sufism had to pass through different phases of development of the movement in the first four centuries of Islam which were conditioned by the challenges Muslim society had to confront at different times because of political compulsions.

FIRST PHASE

According to Nicholson, the first phase in the development of Sufism can be designated as the "Period of the Quietists".¹² This phase began from the early part of the Eighth Century A.D. Because of rapid transformation of political life, the establishment of monarchical institution and coming in possession of enormous wealth in the wake of conquests in Asia, North Africa and Europe and a general trend which set in towards worldly possessions under the Umayyads, gave a rude shock to the sensibilities of religiously conscious people.¹³ Those who had ascetic tendencies and deeply religious bent of mind thought that Islam had not come simply to establish empires. They looked with dismay at the spectacle of Muslims drifting away from the high ideals of Islam and wallowing in sordid materialism. The impious ways of the then ruling elite of the Muslims, specially under the Umayyads, provoked disgust in the sensitive minds. In this phase of development, the Quietists, who were represented by persons like Hasan Basri (died 728 A.D.), Ibrahim b. Adham (died 777 A.D.), Abu Hashim Usman (died 776 A.D.) Rabi'a Basri (a woman from Basra-died 801 A.D.) and others, laid emphasis on purification and discipline of the individual and, according to tradition, redeemed and reformed many a sinner. They also laid the objective of the mystic path. In this ascetic form, the people were exhorted to remain self-contented, apathetic to all enjoyments of this world and have the least feeling of want. They were encouraged to dedicate their lives to the love and worship of God. Among the other main features of Sufism in this phase were: preference for solitude, retirement, self-restraint and contemplation; to be assiduous in piety, to give up everything for God's sake, to turn away from worldly gauds and vanities, to renounce pleasure, wealth and power which are the common objects of human ambition, to abandon society and to live a

secluded life devoted to the service of God¹⁴. This can also be construed as a revolt against the luxury and worldliness prevalent during the tyrannical rule of the Umayyads¹⁵. The injustice, suffering and moral degeneration that were rampant in the socio-political life of the time led a small but an important section of the people to develop an attitude of other worldliness. Centres of Sufism appeared in places like Kufa and Basra. The first stepping stone in the mystic path was the Doctrine of Repentance which is interpreted as a complete transformation of human personality. "Repentance", says a mystic proverb, "means that you forget repentance". According to Goldziher¹⁶, the two striking features of this phase were:

- a) an exaggerated consciousness of sin, and
- b) an overwhelming dread of divine retribution.

They feared God more than they loved Him and therefore submitted unreservedly to His Will. This was the focal point in this phase.

SECOND PHASE

The second phase of development of Sufism began in the Ninth and the Tenth Centuries A.D., when metaphysical and philosophical positions came to be enunciated and determined. The Sufi thought developed under the influence of Greek philosophy of Ashrakian¹⁷ and Dionysius¹⁸. Besides philosophical ideas the Sufis borrowed from the Greeks the medical science which they named يوناني. *Yunani*. Greek influences and Neoplatonism developed intellectual tendencies among the Sufis. Neoplatonic thinkers had been preaching the religion of Christianity recast in the light of Greek philosophy. Most of them were Christian monks mystical in their attitude of life. In the Ninth and the Tenth Centuries A.D., a large number of them had been working in all parts of Arabia and Syria. Hence it led credence to the belief that Islamic mysticism originated in an atmosphere saturated with Greek philosophy which was supported by the western writers. In fact, Islamic mysticism originated in Arabia out of Islamic teachings and was profoundly influenced by Greek philosophy¹⁹.

Dry dogmas of the orthodox theologians, علماء *Ulema*, drove the intellectual Sufis to scepticism²⁰. The orthodox theologians always look upon religion as a set of dogmas, rituals and ceremonies and steep deeper down in

strict forms and formalities which, to them, appear uppermost. Whereas mystics, at a higher level, believe in free-thinking. Therefore, the two are poles apart, cannot come to terms and see eye-to-eye and strongly react to the findings of each other. There is a constant conflict looming large in their observations - the orthodox declaim the Sufis as heretics and the mystics denounce the orthodox as narrow-minded, self-centred ignorants.

Soon a new school of Sufis was established which was greatly influenced by Persian religion and Indian thought, both Hindu Vedantic and Buddhist²¹. *Vedanta* and Buddhistic Philosophy teach that this world is phenomenal, transitory and illusory. This Indian attitude with ascetic way of life appealed to the Sufis and resulted in the rise of ascetic tendencies. There are also many points of resemblance between the Sufi doctrine of *Fana* and the Buddhistic doctrine of *Nirvana*. Nicholson observes, "It may be said that the method of Sufism, so far as it is one of ethical self-culture, ascetic meditation and intellectual distraction, owes a great deal to Buddhism"²².

Sufism under the influence of Greek, Persian and Indian thought, both Hindu and Buddhist, became a speculative and philosophical doctrine. In this phase, it deviated widely from orthodox Islam. The key-note of the new Sufism was Light, Knowledge and Love. It replaced transcendent God by an immanent One who is present everywhere and whose throne is in the human heart. More than this, the Sufis felt that man craves for direct revelation of God to the soul. God was therefore conceived to be both far and near, transcendent as well as immanent. The consciousness of sin which haunted the minds of earlier Sufis gradually disappeared now and they began to seek for direct knowledge and Love of God as well as direct communion with Him. The main object of the life, according to Sufis of this phase, was to merge the individual soul with the Universal Soul²³. The disappearance of the consciousness of the individual self and continuous existence in the being of the Divine Self became the goal of Sufism²⁴.

The followers of this new school were almost all of non-Semitic origin - mostly Persians, Kurds and Afghans. It must be regarded as the reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion imposed upon it by force. There are resemblances between some Sufi doctrines in their most advanced forms and the *Vedanta*. They have common origin which must be sought

in India. As early as the time of Khusrow I of the Sasanian dynasty in Iran, generally known as Naushirwan, contacts were established and many Vedantic treatises were translated into Persian²⁵. Even earlier than that Buddhism swayed over Central Asia and Afghanistan and therefore exercised a profound influence. (Also refer to Appendix I on *Vedanta and Tasawwuf* in the book).

About this time a number of treatises were written on the subject in Arabic on different aspects of Sufistic thought. Among many, the most popular were written by Al-Muhasibi (died 837 A.D.) *al-Ri'aya li-huquq Allah* and *Kitab al-Twahhun* in which he discussed problems related to self-examination, death, final judgement and cosmic emotions. Al-Kharraz (died 899 A.D.) wrote his *Kitab al-Sidq* in which he sought to explain that the Sufis actually imitate the ways of the Prophets. Al-Hallaj wrote the *Kitab al-Tawasin* which was another significant addition to Sufistic literature. Then appeared the works of Abu Nasr al-Sarraj (died 988 A.D.), Abu Talib Makki (died 996 A.D.) and Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi (died 1000 A.D.). Each of these treatises established some Sufistic idea or way in the face of strong opposition from the orthodox.

The latest school of Sufism which felt Persian and Indian influences and incorporated different glosses of Buddhism came in the forefront under Bayazid Bistami whose actual name was Abu Yazid of Bistam (died 875 A.D.). Bistami's²⁶ system was based on *Fana* or complete annihilation in the Divine²⁷ and *Baqa*, consciousness of survival in God.

God cannot be known by the senses, for He is immaterial; nor can He be known by the intellect, for He is unthinkable. Human understanding with its finite categories of knowledge cannot go beyond the range of the finites. So the knowledge of God can only be attained by illumination, revelation and inspiration. To know God one should know his own self. "Look into your own heart," says the Sufi, "for the kingdom of God is within you". He who knows himself, knows God. The heart is like a mirror in which every Divine quality is reflected²⁸.

The state of forgetting or losing self-consciousness in a state of ecstasy is called *Fana* or passing away²⁹. *Fana* thus involves a moral transformation of the soul through the extinction of all its passions and desires. In *Fana*

the mind withdraws from all its contents and concentrates its attention upon the thought of God which means the cessation of all consciousness other than that of God. The final stage of *Fana* marks the beginning of *Baqa*, the unitive state, in which the Sufi lives in the consciousness of God³⁰. *Fana* has an ethical aspect which means the extinction of the evil qualities of the mind, followed by the continuance of good qualities. *Fana* is therefore the culmination of the purgative life and *Baqa* the beginning of the illuminated life³¹.

In *Baqa*, the Sufi passes from the phenomenal self to the real self and in his contemplation of the Divine essence, he discovers that it is one with his own essence. He finds nothing but God and becomes one with Him and does not feel the necessity of prayer, as prayer indicates a sort of separateness and distance between God and man. His words become the words of God and his knowledge the knowledge of God. But it is very difficult to understand this process of transformation of the finite self into the Infinite. It was held by Abu-Nasar al-Sarraj that *Baqa* does not mean infusion of Divine essence or identification of the Divine with human nature. Truly speaking, *Baqa* means the transition of human qualities to the qualities of God, whereby the individual loses his own will and enters into the Divine Will³².

Bistami was captivated by the Vedantic conception of God. He was first of the "intoxicated" Sufis, who transported upon the wings of mystical fervour, found God within his soul and scandalised the orthodox by saying "Glory to me! How great is My Majesty!"

There is another narrative attributed to Abu Yazid and quoted by Al-Sarraj (died 988 A.D.) :

"Once He raised me up and stationed me before Him, and said to me, 'O Abu Yazid, truly My creation desire to see thee.' I said, 'Adorn me in Thy Unity, and clothe me in Thy Selfhood, and raise me up to Thy Oneness, so that when Thy creation see me they will say, we have seen thee: and Thou wilt be That, and I shall not be there at all'"³³.

Here we may observe fully developed the doctrine of passing away in God, *Fana* (*Nirvana* of Buddhism), which from Abu Yazid's time onwards assumes

a central position in the structure of Sufi theory³⁴. It was, after all, not a difficult transition to make, and, in fact, more acceptable, from saying that all else but God is nothing, to claiming that when self as well as the world has been cast aside the mystic has passed away into God.

The classic definition of *توحيد* *tauhid* given by al-Junaid of Baghdad (died 910 A.D.), and quoted by many later writers, is that it consists in "the separation of the Eternal from that which was originated in time"³⁵. Taking as his point of departure the pre-eternal covenant sworn by man with God and referred to (according to Sufi exegesis) in the Quran³⁶, he views the entire course of history as the quest of man to fulfil that covenant and return to "the state in which he was before he was".

Man's separate and individual existence in the universe, according to al-Junaid, is the consequence of a deliberate act of God's Will, Who, at the same time, desires to "overcome" man's existence by the outpouring of His own Being.

In a definition he describes Sufism (*تصوف* *tasawwuf*) as meaning that "God should cause thee to die from thyself and to live in Him"³⁷. By passing away from self the mystic does not cease to exist, in the true sense of existence, as an individual; "rather his individuality, which is an inalienable gift from God, is perfected, transmuted and eternalised through God and in God"³⁸.

When al-Junaid in this way was succeeding to escape from the mortal peril of preaching the apotheosis of man, his junior contemporary Mansur al-Hallaj was not so fortunate in his reading of the riddle of existence, and being condemned for blasphemy he was executed upon the cross in 922 A.D. According to al-Hallaj, man is essentially a reflection of the Divine, for God created man in His own image. In man the manifestation of God attains its zenith, for man is the highest and best of his creation³⁹. He did not claim Divinity for himself, though the utterance which led to his execution, "I am the Truth" *أنا الحق* (*Ana'l-Haqq*)⁴⁰, which is equivalent of *Aham Brahm* of *Vedanta*, seemed to his judges to have that implication.

In al-Hallaj we have the supreme example—even more extreme than Abu Yazid—of the "intoxicated" Sufi; so complete was his absorption in serving

the Will of God as he conceived it to be that he was utterly reckless of the consequences, which in his case were certainly disastrous.

The century which produced al-Muhasibi, al-Junaid and al-Hallaj abounded in Sufis of only comparatively less significance, each of whom made his special contribution to building up the structure of Islamic mysticism. Among them were al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi (circa 893 A.D.), Yahya bin Mu'adh (died 871 A.D.), the latter was an associate of Abu Yazid and Husain al-Nuri of Baghdad (died 907 A.D.).

The Sufis had been under the fire of the narrowly orthodox for some considerable time, and scarcely any of their prominent teachers after al-Muhasibi escaped the accusation of being *زندقی* *zindiq* - "a convenient portmanteau term of abuse used by the zealots to cover a multitude of suspected heresies"⁴¹. *Zindiq* means a heretic. There was thus an urgent need to rehabilitate the movement, if it was to survive in these less liberal times and continue to be an effective force in the community. The need produced the men, and the men produced the books eminently suitable for the purpose.

The first to address himself to this labour was Abu Sa'id Ibn al-A'rabi, a learned jurist and Traditionist, a disciple of al-Junaid, who died at Mecca in 952 A.D. at the age of ninetyfour. His *Tabaqaat al-Nussaak* (Classes of the Pious) has not survived but from quotations we can surmise that the author gave a fairly good account of the lives and teachings of the great Sufi masters.

The oldest surviving general account of Sufism, and in many respects the most valuable, is the *Kitab al-Luma'* of Abu Nasr al-Sarraj (died 988 A.D.). This great and fundamental book differs in character from the biographical sketches of Ibn al-A'rabi (died 952 A.D.) and al-Khuldi (died 959 A.D.) as being constructed, more after the pattern of theological treatises, in such a fashion as to describe and analyse the doctrines and practices of the Sufis.

The *Kitab al-Luma'* is extraordinarily well documented, and abounds in quotations not only from the sayings and poems but also from the letters of the mystics; its author was living at no great distance from the golden age of al-Muhasibi and al-Junaid, and gives the impression of being as honest as he is well-informed.

By the end of the Tenth Century A.D., Sufism had become a fairly rigid and clearly definable way of life and system of thought and the Eleventh Century A.D. found Sufism firmly established and widespread throughout all Islam⁴².

When Sufism spread out towards the east, because of Buddhistic influences, it evolved a cult of saints. Pilgrimage, another Buddhistic practice, was also introduced. Sufism also borrowed the *Tariqa* or *Tariqat* from Buddhism. Before being *Fana*, the Sufi seeker must tread by slow stages (*Maqamat*) the *Tariqat* or the mystic path to reach *Haqiqa* or *Haqiqat* (gnosis), Reality or the goal of Union⁴³. The path comprised seven stages: repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God and satisfaction. *Ma'rifat* (gnosis) became the *summum bonum* of a mystic life.

The Sufis of Bayazid School were tolerant of all other religions and therefore they were declared heretics (*zindiq*) and were often exiled or hanged⁴⁴. This alarmed the Sufis of new school and induced them to retrace their steps and re-enter the fold of old Sufi School. The Sufis were not popular with the powerful orthodox. To avoid reprisals from the orthodox and to save their lives, henceforward, they recognised Muhammad as their ideal and tried to deduce their thought from the Quran only.

THIRD PHASE

The third phase of development of Sufism commenced in the Eleventh Century A.D., when Sufi groups (*Garohs*) were established. Sheikh Ali Makhdum Hujwiri, generally known as Data Ganj Baksh, (died 1072 A.D.), who followed the arms of Masa'ud, son and successor of Mahmud Ghaznavi, to Lahore where he settled down to preach, refers to about twelve different *Garohs*, or Schools of thought, during his time. Among those the important ones were - the *Hululis*, the *Hallajis*, the *Taifuris*, the *Muhasibis*, the *Tustaris*, the *Hakimis*, the *Nuris* and the *Junaidis*. Each school laid stress on a particular doctrine. The *Taifuris* considered rapture (*shukr*) superior to sobriety (*sahv*), the *Kharrazis* propounded the doctrine of *fana* (annihilation) and *baqa* (survival in the consciousness of God); the *Muhasibis* laid down precepts for taking stock of one's spiritual progress (*muhasaba*) and categorized them under *maqams* (stages) and *hals* (states); the *Tustaris* drew attention to controlling the lower soul (*nafs*); the *Hakimis* affirmed

the doctrine of sainthood (*walayat*); the Nuris preferred *sohbat* (society) to *uzlat* (seclusion) and the Junaidis emphasized the superiority of sobriety (*sahw*) over rapture (*shukr*). The Hululis believed in transmigration of soul and Hallajis in pantheism; these were condemned by Sheikh Hujwiri. This phase of development produced a lot of literature on Sufism and introduced many new terms and connotations. Added to all this were the biographies of earlier Sufis which served as models for the generations that followed.

As many Sufistic concepts were promulgated by different *Garohs* in the third phase of development of Sufism, they remained isolated, disjointed and uncoordinated. Then appear the Sufi philosophers in the fourth phase who not only consolidated the isolated and disjointed concepts of earlier generations, but also integrated and brought them within the parametres of well-knit systems of thoughts.

FOURTH PHASE

The foremost among those philosophers was Abul Qasim al-Qushairi (died 1072 A.D.) who wrote a systematic account of Sufism. He also defined various Sufistic terms and made a clear distinction between the *ulema-i-zahir* (the scholars of external-self or the Ulema) and the *ulema-i-batin* (the scholars of inner-self or the Sufis). According to al-Qushairi the former established contact with the state; the latter abjured it completely.⁴⁷ He also gave coherence to the mystical concepts by integrating the Sufistic movement.

Sufism had produced many men of conspicuous sincerity, holiness and intuition during the first four centuries of its existence; but it never made a greater impact than when Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali, the *Hujjat al-Islam* ("Proof of Islam"), declared himself its champion. Born in 1058 A.D. at Tus in Khorasan, al-Ghazali lived his early years in this north Persian province which had raised up so many mystical geniuses. His schooling was that of an orthodox theologian and lawyer, and he had established himself as the leading Sunni scholar of his day when he was appointed professor of divinity at the Nizamiya Madrassa, Baghdad, in 1091 A.D. He died in 1111 A.D.

Al-Ghazali lived the simple life of a mystic, punctuated only by study and the composition of a succession of books. In these he brought out various

aspects of the moral, metaphysical and mystical system in which he essayed to reconcile Sufism with Muslim orthodoxy, and to prove that the Muslim life of devotion to the One God could not be lived perfectly save by following the Sufi way. While none of his shorter works is negligible, and some of especial value and importance, his masterpiece, and in many ways the greatest religious book composed by a Muslim, is the massive *Ihya 'Ulum-al-Din* ('Revival of Religious Sciences').⁴⁸

The story of al-Ghazali's conversion to Sufism is a classic of its kind. In his younger days he had been a sceptic. A mystical experience cured him of this malady and caused him to devote all his powers to searching after absolute truth. His study of philosophy and scholastic theology convinced him that no light was to be found there. Then he turned his attention to the mystic Way revealed in the writings of al-Muhasibi and other old masters. He is reported to have experienced ecstasy and complete inward transformation. It was al-Ghazali's personal experience of this truth that inspired the great religious revival which his example more than his works brought about.

Al-Ghazali succeeded in assuring the mystical or introspective attitude a place within official Islam side by side with the legalism of the lawyers and the intellectualism of the theologians. By virtue of his profound learning in the accepted religious sciences, al-Ghazali commanded the respect of all except the narrowest of the orthodox. His legal and theological training qualified him to bring to his constructive work on Sufism an intellect acute and sensitive, a mind ingenious and inventive.

Al-Ghazali by his erudition and constructive work on Sufism perfected the work which Abu Talib al-Makki (died 996 A.D.), Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi (died 1000 A.D.) and Abul Qasim al-Qushairi (died 1072 A.D.) had all striven so hard to accomplish. Henceforth Sufism, at least of the 'sober' type, was accepted as a Muslim science and a laudable way of life⁴⁹.

Muhiuddin Ibn al-Arabi (1165-1240 A.D.) who was born in Murcia, Spain (Europe) and died in 1240 A.D. at Damascus (Asia), was initiated into Sufism at Tunis (Africa), authored many important books, made Sufism a speculative system full of comprehensive philosophical ideas. He gave a new doctrine named *وحدت الوجود* *Wahdatal Wajud*, the Unity of Existence⁵⁰.

He holds that all things pre-exist as ideas in the knowledge of God. God is a percept, the world is a concept. While every phenomenon reveals some attributes of Reality, man is the microcosm in which all the attributes are united, and in man alone does God become fully conscious of Himself⁵¹. This doctrine occupies the central theme in Ibn al-Arabi's system and fuses together elements derived from Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, Christianity⁵² and *Vedanta*. The being of all things is God: there is nothing except Him. God's object in creating this world was to make Himself known and thus He created the world.

This is the awakening of His attributes and is the dawn of four relations, namely, *Wajud* (essence), *Ilm* (knowledge of self), *Noor* (light) and *Shahud* (observation of self). At this stage He becomes conscious of His own self. His essence is His being; His knowing is His knowledge and Light is His consciousness, that is, His ego⁵³. When he became conscious of Himself He observed Himself, and this is *Shahud*.

The entire process of manifestation can be described, in short, as follows : Before manifestation every name was in the knowledge of God and when manifested it became an individual thing. But before it was manifested, it had to pass through the world of spirit and the world of form. The spirit grew into form and the form developed into matter. When spirit displayed weight and cohesion, it became mineral; and when mineral displayed the faculty of growth, it became vegetable possessing the quality of absorption, assimilation, colouration, etc. When vegetable displayed locomotion, it became animal, in which stage it showed anger and other qualities necessary for self-preservation. And when animal displayed understanding, it became man, possessing moral and spiritual qualities. Thus there are three stages - spirit, form and matter. The world of form is a partition between the spheres of spirit and matter. Both are manifestations of one and the same essence. Man is thus the microcosm⁵⁴. The being of all things is God; there is nothing except Him. All things reveal an essential unity; every part of the world is the whole of it. So man is a unity in essence, but multiplicity in individuality. To attain perfection man has to annihilate his self or realise that his self is non-existent, while the self of God alone is existent. To realise this truth man has to pass through the thorny path of "dying before death". According to *Shahudiya* school of thought the world is a reflection and the attributes of God can either be manifest or hidden⁵⁵. However, according to the

Wajudiya school, wherever there is an attribute there is essence. The ego of man is the ego of God within limitation; and unless man dies before his death and annihilates or merges his self into the universal Self, he is responsible for his action⁵⁶. So long as this duality remains, good and bad actions will have their effects on the nature of man. He shall have to enjoy or suffer the consequences of his actions either in this world or in the world to come. Man is composed of three elements, namely, spirit, form and matter. In this life matter is predominant and in the next spirit and form. When at death the soul is free from the bondage of the body it recollects its past with good doings and wrong doings. For the good doings, it is rewarded and for wrong doings it is punished until the human ego is merged in the Super Ego of which it is a limitation⁵⁷.

Of course every man has to live in this world for sometime, but he should never be engrossed in earthly things.

The perfect man is he who realises God and feels that he is a point in His consciousness. Every man is a finite reproduction of Infinite Consciousness. To attain perfection man has to annihilate his self⁵⁸. The doctrine advanced by Ibn al-Arabi was subsequently developed by Jalaluddin Rumi and Abdul Karim Jili.

Arberry says about Ibn al-Arabi that, "He gathered into the comprehensive range of his meditation the entire learning of Islam, and was perfectly familiar not only with the writings and teachings of the orthodox Sunni theologians, lawyers and philosophers, and of the Sufis from the earliest times to his own day, but also with the schismatic and heretical movements like the Mu'tazilites, Carmathians and Isma'ilis. His system, vast and widely ranging as it is, embraces the speculations and terminologies of all his widely various sources; so that the problem of abstruse reference is complicated by the further constant difficulty of an inconsistent technical vocabulary"⁵⁹.

Ibn al-Arabi marks a turning-point in the history of speculative Sufism. Though he was violently attacked for his pantheistic teachings and for his extravagant claims, no mystic who came after him was free of his influence, and he has left his mark on all subsequent mystical literature.

To see how long are the shadows cast by these great figures of mediaeval Islamic mysticism, we may notice that the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal (died

1938 A.D.), who had made a detailed study of Sufi thought, appears to have derived his special theory of Higher Selfhood in part out of the Sufi doctrine of the Perfect Man (*إنسان الكامل* *Insan al-Kamil*), expounded by Ibn al-Arabi and in part from the Superman of German philosophy culminating in Nietzsche.

Sufism reached the zenith of its glory in the fertile land of Iran and captured the imagination of Persians. "When Sufism gripped the mind and soul of Iran, and the abounding poetic imagination of the Persians discovered this new theatre to display itself, Islamic mysticism developed aesthetically in a manner soaring high above the ranges of pure speculation. Classical Persian poetry is to a very large extent Sufi in content and inspiration"⁶⁰.

The first Persian author to write an extensive poem elaborating the doctrines of Sufism was Sana'i, whose literary activities cover the first half of the Twelfth Century A.D.

Farid ud-Din 'Attar, who flourished some sixty years after Sana'i, was an even more productive author; not only did he compose easily in all the categories of verse, but he also wrote a valuable and highly esteemed treatise on the biographies of Muslim saints and mystics (*تذكرة الأولياء* *Tazkirat al-Auliya*). His *إلهي نامه* *Ilahinama* (Divine Book) is on mystical love. His *منطق الطير* *Mantiq ul-Tair* (Speech of Birds) is a splendid allegory portraying the mystic's progress towards Union with God.

The unsurpassable summit in this form of composition was reached by the illustrious Jalal ud-Din Rumi (died 1273 A.D.), a native of Balkh who migrated with his father to Qonia in Asia Minor and there became the founder of the *Maulavi* (Turkish *Mevlevi*) Order of dervishes. As Ibn al-Arabi summed up and gathered into a single system all that had been said on mysticism in Arabic before him, so Rumi in his immortal *مشنوی* *Mathnawi* performed a like service in Persian. This *Mathnawi* has been acclaimed as the complete scripture of Sufism and comprises of twenty-six thousand verses divided into six books. This vast poem ranges over the entire field of Sufi speculation; the anecdotes that intersperse the discourses are brilliantly told, abounding in wisdom and humour. In Sufism, in Persia, the language of human love was used freely to describe the relations between the mystic and his Divine Beloved. The best known of many poems on this subject is the *Yusuf Zulaikha* of Jami (died 1492 A.D.). The

same prolific writer spiritualised other familiar love-stories, such as the desert tragedy of Laila and her mad lover-poet, Majnun and others.

It was above all in Lyric غزل (*Ghazal*) that Persian mysticism found its highest expression, and there are hardly any poets who have not contributed something to this form. The imagery used by the mystical poets in these compositions refer to the عشق حقیقی *Ishq-i-Haqiqi* (Love Divine) in the veil of عشق مجازی *Ishq-i-Majazi* (worldly love). For the interpretation of their technical vocabulary, reference to the Glossary in the book may be made.

It is against the background of this allegory of love and worship of faithlessness and shame, that the lyrics of Sana'i, Attar, Rumi, Iraqi, Maghribi, Amir Khusrau, Sa'di, Hafiz, Jami and many another Persian poet must be read.

Rumi says, "the names 'Princehood', *Miri*, 'Vizierate', *Vaziri*, and 'Kingship', *Shahi*, are enticing, but hidden beneath them is death and pain giving up the ghost. Be a slave of God and walk on the earth like a horse under the rider, and not like a bier which is carried on the necks of the bearers."⁶¹ Writing in 1258 A.D., his contemporary, Sa'di (died 1291 or 1292 A.D.), whose tomb near Shiraz Ibn-i-Battuta was to visit some forty years later,⁶² makes the same point in this form. "One of the saints saw in a dream a King in Paradise and a holy man in Hell. He asked, 'What is the cause of this man's degradation and that man's exaltation? For men believed the contrary of this'. A voice came, 'The King is come to Paradise because he had a love for Dervishes, the holy man to Hell because he sought the favour of Kings'. "⁶³

The allegory of wine was also freely used. There are those who take every reference to the crimson cup as intending spiritual intoxication. The Persian Sufi poets referred to wine both as a literal so also as a metaphorical drunkenness.

While the language of love and wine is common to all the Persian mystical poets, Rumi stands out supreme in this convention and technique too, for inventiveness of imagery and fertility of allusion. He superimposes upon the general foundation of Sufi metaphor several new ranges of comparison,

for example, dancing and music and whirling movements of derveshes, among others, all of which have their special mystic meanings.

Rumi epitomised the entire history of the phenomenal world, as seen by the Sufi - the progress of man out of God, into the universe, and back again to God.

The philosophy of Rumi can be summed up, briefly, as follows : Reality is one; all phenomena are aspects of the same Reality. All beings proceed from the Ultimate Reality, into the universe and back again to the same original source - Reality. Real knowledge cannot be obtained through logic only; perceptual experience is preferred than reason alone. The real aim of life is that one should perceive Reality through spiritual experience, so that it should again become one into Reality. The spiritual perception is called Love. Knowledge of Reality is inherent in Love. This Love is the main spring of all religions and higher morality. Without Love, religion and morality become mere formal and mechanical. Reason without Love remains in utter darkness⁶⁴.

"Rumi considers the whole universe as emanating from one God and his pantheistic attitude declares that all that exists is God. Our soul is but a ray of His light, which has been severed from its real source and fallen into the engrossment of this base and physical world and is continuously striving to regain its fountainhead and for this passionate yearning to see the Beloved, the soul desires to tear off the intervening curtain of the physical body so that it once again becomes one with its source.⁶⁵"

Rumi opens his famous *Mathnawi* with the "Song of the Reed" in his own inimitable way using the imagery of the reed-pipe and explains the mystic's cry to God —

Hearken to this Reed forlorn
Breathing, ever since 'twas torn
From its rushy⁶⁶ bed, a strain'
Of impassioned love and pain.

The secret of my song, though near,
None can see and none can hear.
Oh, for a friend to know the sign
And mingle all his soul with mine!

'Tis the flame of Love that fired me,
'Tis the wine of Love inspired me.
Wouldst thou learn how lovers bleed,
Hearken, hearken to the Reed !⁶⁶

In his quatrains, Rumi has drawn images of surprising beauty out of his own spiritual consciousness and has told the whole story of the soul's quest for God in such an exquisite manner, as for example in the following -

I sought a soul in the sea,
And found a coral there;
Beneath the foam for me
An ocean was all laid bare.

Into my hearts night
Along a narrow way
I groped; and lo ! the light,
An infinite land of day.⁶⁷

Love, according to Rumi, is the greatest force in human life. It is indescribable in any language and any attempt to describe it merely makes it more baffling. Love presents a paradox inasmuch as in it by giving, we take, and by dying we live. With the help of this unadulterated Love, the soul transcends through all barriers and sees the One Reality coming out in bold relief from every created object.⁶⁸

Sufism of Rumi is not the Sufism of a fatalist, who shuns action and depends only on the Will of God resigning himself to it. A Sufi must endeavour hard and work incessantly for the achievement of his ideal and after putting in all efforts, he should depend on the Will of God. Rumi preaches a life of ceaseless activity and endless struggle to achieve freedom and immortality. According to him even a useless effort is better than passivity.⁶⁹ He has his definite views in favour of the following —

- a) Perfect or Ideal Man.
- b) Love.
- c) Relationship between the finite ego and the Infinite Ego.
- d) Achievement of immortality.

The dynamic Sufism of Rumi delivered a message of great importance which pertained to three epoch-making theories of philosophy, namely,

1. The Theory of Evolution.
2. The Eternality of the Soul.
3. The Transmigration of Soul.⁷⁰

Rumi cared little for logical contradictions in the expression of his thoughts and sentiments. He used many, and contradictory opinions, current before him, as his raw materials and conceived a new structure where the outlines and features were entirely his own.

Rumi's Sufism and *Vedanta* have a lot in common and both teach that all differences which apparently are far from conciliation, in reality do not exist. The clashes which occur everyday in the world are the result of ignorance and when ignorance is removed, clashes disappear and unity is experienced in diversity. Truth is the same everywhere, though it is known by different names in different languages. एकं सत् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति - "Truth is One, sages call it variously". The entire universe is the manifestation of one Divinity and the method of elimination as enunciated in *Vedanta* by नेति नेति *Neti Neti* (not this) or by لا (not this) in Sufism, the seeker realises it. The seeker finds that the difference lies only in non-essentials. It is the removal of ignorance which is accomplished by different methods of knowledge (ज्ञान *Jnan* or علم *Ilam*) devotion (भक्ति *Bhakti* or عشق *Ishq*) and action (कर्म *Karma* or عمل *Amal*). When the goal is one, it is immaterial whether one reaches it one way or the other⁷¹.

When a modern thinker such as Sir Muhammad Iqbal desired to popularise his ideas of Man and Superman, he not only turned back to Rumi and the medieval mystics to discover antecedents within Islam for the system for which he sought acceptance but he also cast his thoughts in the mould of Sufi allegory of Persian poetry. Such has been the effect of Rumi and other medieval mystics on the subsequent generations of thinkers.

Thus it will be seen that Al-Ghazali (1058 - 1111 A.D.), Ibn al-Arabi (1165 - 1240 A.D.) and Jalal ud-Din Rumi (died 1273 A.D.) formed the illustrious trinity of Sufism before it traversed and came to establish itself firmly in India.

SUFISTIC IDEOLOGY

Before Sufism came to India certain ideas had already taken deep root in its philosophical development. Some of the main ideas thus developed are briefly enumerated here. In Sufism, greater significance is attached to the activities of the inner self than to the observance of outward religious practices.

GOD THE ONLY BEING

The whole system of Sufism centres round two questions : 'How is man to realise God in himself ?' and 'What is God in relation to the individual and the creation?' Sufism shows *tariqat* or path comprising of, generally acknowledged, seven stages, in answer to the first, and imparts *ma'rifat* or knowledge which describes God, both pantheistically and monistically, in answer to the second.

To Sufis, God is pure Being and absolute Beauty. He is everywhere and in everything. According to them, God is 'closer to us than even our neck-vein (*Habl-al-warid*)'. Purification, devotion and deification are the main stages for realisation.

The keynote of Sufism is love of God and a disinterested, selfless devotion to Him. The Sufis try to establish an intimate connection of love between God and man. Sufis believe that 'Everything of this world is perishable and the only eternal being is God.' 'He is the First (*awwal*) and the Last (*akhir*) ---- the Apparent (*zahir*) and the Real (*batin*) and He knows everything'. Therefore, the Sufis hold that every man is to seek knowledge and the light of the Supreme Being in this world which is regarded as a place for soul-making where one prepares himself for initiation into the higher mode of existence in the next world. It is also held that everything of this world is a non-entity in essence: God alone is eternal and the true existence. In the Holy Quran God says - "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to be known and so I created the world and all that is in it to know myself".

The Sufis also believe that God is the only Being and that He is the only real agent. Since God is the only Being, other beings are mere appearances; and He is the one single source of all the increasing activity. The so-called

self, after all, is nothing but an appearance and the continuity of the self is only one of the many appearances in the world of continued existence of the same thing, when in reality, everything about it is new, except the name of the appearance at all those spots where His action is immediate and complete.

SOUL

Sufis believe in the survival and continuity of the soul after physical death. They also believe in the immortality of the soul and that it is a command of God. The essence of man is the *soul* and the soul of man is the spirit of God.

Men differ from one another, for there are different gradations in the development of the soul. A man whose soul is at the lowest stage of development is satisfied with the knowledge of sensible things of the world. But those who want to rise higher up have to read the arguments against philosophy. At the highest stage of perfection however, man develops an intuitive faculty; and in a state of ecstasy or rapture, he can have direct vision of the Divine Illumination (*Noor-i-Ilahi*). It is this stage that the soul rises above the world of shadows and reflections and soars up into the world of reality. The Sufis have a conviction that they can rise upto this stage wherefrom they can see the manifestation of God in everything of Nature, just as they see Him best in their own souls. The soul in its consciousness of union with God attains the highest bliss. All things then become one in love.

LOVE: HUMAN AND DIVINE

God is the universal, spiritual organism, according to Sufis, in whom man should try to get assimilated. The force that drives this evolution through universal struggle is *Love*. All the processes of assimilation and growth are manifestations of Love. Without Love there would have been no movement in the universe. Love is held to be a cosmic force which operates universally in Nature. It moves towards Beauty which is identical with Goodness and Truth. Beauty is the most perfect as well as the highest Idea. Love is also the principle of unification and assimilation. It is the force of attraction in every atom by which one form of life merges into another and thereby causes growth. Love is considered higher than reason, for it is the principle

of unification. Sufis hold that reason differentiates and separates, whereas Love binds and assimilates the *heterogeneous* and makes it *homogeneous*.

If Love for God visits an individual, all doubts depart and the realisation becomes considerably quicker. Sufis, therefore, think very highly of Love. Because the ordinary love for human beings removes fear of conventions and conquers prestige, enables one to discard the normal scale of values, even if it be for a short time and it secures freedom from the harassing considerations of duty, Sufis welcome even worldly love. Jami, a great lyric poet of Persia, has beautifully described in his *Yusuf Zulaikha*:

"I heard a seeker went to a *pir*,
That he might receive aid in his company.
(The *pir*) said, "If your foot hasn't moved on the path of love,
Go, become a lover and then come to me."

It is also generally believed by the Sufis that God plays hide and seek with His lovers. "He vivifies a form and makes it more beautiful than the rest; we are drawn to it; but, by the time we are there, He leaves it and goes to vivify another. And so the game goes on. Form after form He makes us pursue in search of Himself, till by chance, in our desolation, we get a glimpse of the very spring of Beauty".

Another point about Love that the Sufis believe, and is known to be true, is that Love comes when it likes and goes when it likes. There is no knowing when and how it will come. No preparation can be determined for it, for Love is God and is as free as He. It has been explained by a fine parable. It is said that a person asked Sadiq, a well-known Sufi, to fill him with the love for God. Sadiq sent for the potter of the place and asked him in the presence of that person if he himself chose the clay for the pots, or the clay insisted on being chosen for the purpose. The potter, of course, replied that he was the sole judge in the matter. Even so, Sadiq said, has God the sole choice in this matter. It is often observed that a Sufi saint showers blessing on the persons, if he be pleased, thus: "May God grant you His Love! May God make you His own!"

A Sufi is expected to possess an abundant store of Love, and all beings, coming into contact with him, must of necessity be charged with his Love.

His love should not only be pure and transparent, but also voluntary and selfless, not expecting any return. A Sufi's love should be able to attract not only the creation, but also the Creator. The lover and the beloved have to identify themselves with each other. The lover is to become the beloved, and the beloved the lover, thus forging a complete fusion of the two into one.

ANNIHILATION OF THE SELF

Renunciation of worldly enjoyment and poverty are not virtues in themselves, but they are expressions of one's selfless devotion to God. The Sufis practised self-abnegation, sacrificing vulgar passions for the sake of truth. In this way, they experienced death which comes before death. This death is called *Fana-fillah* (annihilation in God) which results in *Baqa-billah* (permanent existence in God). It was in this strain of thought that Mansur al-Hallaj said *Ana'l-Haqq* - 'I am the Truth: I am merged in the thought of the Absolute and have forgotten my separate existence.'

The annihilation of the self, gnosis or *ma'rifat*, consists merely in the progressive removal of the obstruction in the way of complete action, in killing the alleged considerations that produce hesitation before a move is made, and increases - it does not decrease - our cheerfulness and joy. This is known to those who, by experience, have had their sympathies enlarged, and who, entering into other people's lives, become quick and effective in their action. Even in our own lives, several of us, besides, do undergo many extinctions, when our outlook changes so totally that we become dead to our former selves.

A Sufi who is always anxious for the knowledge and love of God, is ready to undergo any amount of hardship to remove the curtain that veils him from God. In a state of ecstasy, he sees reality in everything around him. He tries to lose the consciousness of individual things and of the self, to be absorbed in universal consciousness and love of God. Through ecstasy the heart can communicate with Him and can become one with Him. This state is called *Fana* or passing away. In *Fana* the mind withdraws from all other consciousness and concentrates its attention upon the thought of God and God alone. The final stage of *Fana* marks the beginning of *Baqa*, the unitive state, in which the Sufi lives in the consciousness of God.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

By accepting the idea that God is the only Being and that He is the only real agent inherent therein is the problem of the origin of evil. In accepting God as the only real agent, we have also to accept that evil emanates from Him. Since evil is evil, we find it impossible to attribute that to Him. The problem of evil was, initially, considered to be insoluble. But the Sufis, with their extraordinary knowledge and perception, opined that evil is a *not-being* which is the privation and absence of being. Hence there is nothing evil in this world. Everything is ultimately good. So evil is purely subjective having no objective existence.

Sufis give a beautiful illustration of how evil can become transformed. It is explained by them that a pool of standing water becomes dirty when dirt is thrown into it, and remains so. It takes the colour of whatever it comes in contact with, and retains it. But if it can get connected with a perennially flowing stream, it becomes, sooner or later, purified. So long as an individual remains an individual and considers himself responsible for the activities that appear to flow from him, these activities leave their traces on him. But if, somehow, he is able to become one with the Universal Life, the activities become those of the Universal Life and cease to have a moral colouring.

Furthermore, evil can be turned into good by the righteous activities of man. The world is the manifestation of a single principle: it is a perfect whole where every suffering, pain and evil has got its place. The world is the place for soul-making, and, for this purpose, evil is a necessity as the soul can develop and perfect itself only by struggling with evils. The creation of good out of evil is the main function of human souls in this world.

THE FACT OF PAIN

The last of the ideas which were established was the idea of pain. Why did God create this real thing, pain? As long as it lasts, it is certainly more real than anything else. But even this pain, according to Sufi belief, is not quite as real as it appears to be. When we are in pain, it is possible for many of us to shift and ally ourselves with something deeper

and be free from it. Even then the question remains: Why did He create pain at all ? Could there not be a universe without it ? The answer is: no, certainly not, unless it be a universe without a relish. No risks, no struggles, no failures, and no pain—it is unthinkable. Pain took the manifestation of separation of the Soul from the Universal Soul and its constant yearning to have direct communion with the Creator.

THE MURSHIDS

The relationship of *murshid* (teacher) and *talib* (disciple) is indeed a cornerstone in Sufism. *Talib* literally means a seeker, and *murshid* is the person who is able to satisfy the seeking impulse. Of all the relationships known to the human mind, this is the best, happiest, and most perfect.

To be initiated into the Sufi cult, one is required to have an implicit faith in his teacher, who is considered in no way less than God Himself. His commands are divine, and the path shown by him, the straightest.

The *murshid* is the intercessor who gets divine powers delegated to his disciple from the Unseen. All actions done according to his instructions are necessarily good, even though apparently they may appear to be otherwise. Without his help, it is impossible to get on to the right path. Perfect devotion to the teacher ensures speedy realisation of the Truth.

The *murshid* acts as a perfect administrator. He arranges circumstances for his disciple's growth, for the development of the seeds he has thrown into his soil. The weaknesses of his disciples are made to expose themselves to their view and then drop off; and this is done, not by a word of mouth, but by the circumstances arranged for that purpose.

The Sufi knows that "The only good man is he who goes with every bad one" (Khalil Gibran), and so, if he wants his disciple to realise it, he does not say that to him. But, in His name, there are sent to his disciples persons of all sorts, good, bad, and indifferent with whom the disciple must go, to do them service. And slowly but surely, without an effort and without a struggle, there is developed in the disciple a feeling that all are alike.

The *murshids* say very little. Whatever they say implies always that the disciple must place others above himself. "Become your enemy's friend," is

a common advice. So is the following: "They rebuke you; you must not speak in return" (Shah Latif).

The *murshids* never argue. No proof is ever advanced. But they give the disciples wonderful illustrations and beautiful parables to fix in them what they wish to. The conviction comes to the disciples direct from their heart; these parables and illustrations probably help in the rearrangement of the mind with which the disciples are hampered.

If a seeker adopts of his own accord a course of conduct involving more of control and sacrifice, there is always some feeling of hesitation and uncertainty about his actions. But if, after sometime, a word on the point from the mouth of the *murshid* reaches the ears of the seeker, things appear to get settled. It is not merely a case of a sanction received or of faith, "He says it; it must be so". Some walls appear to have been broken, obstructions removed; and there is an access of power. Till the *murshid* speaks, it is a business of an individual; a case of control of his desires. After he speaks, it becomes God's affair and the very seeds of desire seem to disappear.

The love of the *murshid* for the seeker is said to be greater than that of the seeker for his *murshid*. His love is the very essence of love, and so, tremendous in intensity. But he releases only as much as the seeker can bear. He attends to all the details of his life, outer as well as inner; sometimes he has to wait and watch from afar; but his irresistible love draws, and keeps drawing, till the seeker, whom he has chosen to make his own, accepts the *murshid* consciously.

BRIEF HISTORY OF SUFISM IN INDIA

After the Muslim conquest of Northern India, Sufis began to pour into the country and this new ideology spread like wild-fire. This was the only peaceful, tolerant and friendly element of Islam. The Islam professed by aggressive *Ulema* and *Qazis* could not impress the Hindus. But the Islam represented by the Sufis appealed to them and almost all the willing conversions were no doubt the result of Sufi preaching.

In the beginning the Sufis in India were preachers and often joined hands with the rulers to establish their power and convert people to Islam.

Their patience, tolerance, friendly spirit brought them followers from lower grades of Hindus who were neglected by the higher classes. To this category of Sufis belonged Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, Ali Makhdum Hujwiri, generally known as Data Ganj Baksh, who followed the arms of Masa'ud, son and successor of Mahmud Ghaznavi, to Lahore, where he settled down to preach.

But, later on, many Sufis gave up missionary work⁷². Sufism came to differ a great deal, in detail, from the original on account of its having been subjected to many innovations and modifications under the influence of both Buddhist and Hindu religious and philosophic thought. A long residence in India, a sincere study of Indian religions and philosophies, and a political environment had weakened the proselytising zeal of the Sufis⁷³. Mian Mir, Abul Fazl, Fayzi and Prince Dara Shikoh, who wrote *Majma-al-Bahrain* where he sought to reconcile theory of Sufism with the *Vedanta*, belonged to this category of Sufis. Sufis thrived during the benign reigns of Emperors Akbar and his son, Jahangir, whose fondness for religious men and especially for the Sufis was proverbial. The Sufis, during the reign of Shah Jahan under the patronage of Prince Dara Shikoh, had absorbed a good deal of Hindu Vedantic thought but they remained, except for a few rare exceptions, within the limit of their own religion.

A remarkable change, however, occurred in Sufism towards the end of the Seventeenth Century. Aurangzeb's antipathy against Hinduism so much affected the intellectual Sufis that they were more than ever driven towards Hinduism. Hindu Vedantic philosophy captured their minds and the Bhakti movement enunciated by Chaitanya, Guru Nanak, Namdeo, Tulsidas and Kabir, influenced their ideas to a considerable extent. The result was that this change had surprising effect and the Sufis began to hold the view that except God there was no Reality. To them everything else was illusion or Hindu *Maya*.⁷⁴

HINDU INFLUENCES

Hinduism exercised considerable influence on the Sufis. The doctrines of transmigration and reincarnation were soon adopted and were afterwards supplemented by the theory of *Karma*.⁷⁵ The doctrine of Karma is, in fact, alien to Sufism but now it became one of its doctrines. The condemnation of idols, which had not been very vehement even in the Sixteenth Century,

ceased altogether now. Muslim mystics accepted them as another way of adoring the Universal Lord.⁷⁶ The principle of religious tolerance was advocated by many of them who denounced fanaticism and admitted freedom of religious beliefs.⁷⁷

Abdul Qadir in *The Legacy of India* writes that, "In the words of a recent writer this movement (Bhakti Movement) recognized no difference between Ram and Rahim, Kaaba and Kailash, Quran and Puran and inculcated that Karma is Dharma. The preachers of this creed, Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Ramdas, Nanak, Chaitanya, who flourished in different parts of India and preached the principles of Unity of God, were immensely influenced by Islam."⁷⁸ Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding. This mutuality spurred on the effort to seek a new life which led to the development of a new culture—this was Hindu-Muslim culture.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUFIS

The above were the new developments in Sufism on Indian soil. These were, however, not necessarily the chief characteristics of every Sufi teachings but they help in the classifications of Sufis in three schools of thought -

1. *THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL* - The Sufis of this School believed in the conversion from one religion to another. Although they tolerated other religions yet their main theme was Islam to be the only true creed, Quran to be the best book revealed and Muhammad to be the greatest Prophet of God on earth.⁷⁹ To this class of Sufis belonged Baba Farid, Sultan Bahu, Ali Haidar and others.

2. *THE PHILOSOPHIC SCHOOL* - The Sufis of this School were thinkers. They had absorbed the essence of *Vedanta* and to them differences in religion, country, sect were immaterial. The Advaita conception of God - this highly intellectual and clear conception of the Divine was possible to the few of the great mystics who experienced that cosmopolitan joy which knows no limits and divisions. They believed in pantheistic Sufism, ignored conversions and were mainly responsible for establishing unity amongst the followers of different religions and maintained communal harmony.⁸⁰ To this school belonged Mian Mir, Shah Husain, Dara Shikoh, Sarmad, Bulleh Shah, Sayyid Waris Shah, Fard Faqir, Hashim Shah among others.

3. *THE POPULAR SCHOOL* - The followers of this school were of little or no education. They often believed in superstitions of different creeds and practised them. Muḥammad continued to be their only Prophet, and the Quran the best revelation. To such Sufis mysticism was nothing more than the few dogmas. They were popular with the lower classes of both Muslims and Hindus.⁸¹ They were apt to change with the times and conditions and therefore less reliable.

THE SUFI ORDERS IN INDIA

In the 11th Century A.D. (5th Century A.H.), when Sufism was firmly established and widespread throughout the Islamic world, comes the foundation of Sufi Orders. The Sufis wanted to be linked up in a widespread brotherhood of mystics acknowledging a common master and using a common discipline and ritual. With the advent of Sufism in India, the following main Sufi orders were founded :

1. *CHISHTIYA SUFI ORDER (Silsila)* - The first of the Sufi orders established in India was the creation of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti Sanjari (1141-1236 A.D.). Chisht is a village on the river Hari, some hundred kilometers east of Herat in Afghanistan. He came to India with Sultan Shahabuddin Ghorī and settled in Ajmer. This order was founded by Khawaja Abu Ishaq of Syria (died 940 A.D.) and it produced saints like Abu Ahmed b. Farashafa, Abu Yusuf, Haji Sharif Zindani and Khawaja Usman Harwani,⁸² before Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti established it in India. Khawaja had said "A mystic is like the sun, who shines on the whole world equally." He gave the following three characteristics of a mystic:

- i) A mystic is one who keeps his heart free from both the worlds, throws out all the things which are other than God from his heart, and becomes one as his friend (God) is one.
- ii) The mystic is quiet and melancholy. He obeys and fears God, is in love with death, renounces the comforts and absorbs himself in the remembrances of God.
- iii) The man who possesses the qualities of charity like the charity of the river, kindness like the kindness of the sun, and humility like the humility of the earth is the true friend of God.⁸³

Thus the qualities of charity, kindness and humility are necessary for a mystic.

According to this order, the highest form of devotion is "to redress the misery of those in distress; to fulfil the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry."

Sheikh Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki (1186 - 1236 A.D.), Sheikh Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar (Baba Farid) (1172 - 1267 A.D.) of Pak Pattan (Ajodhan), Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1238 - 1325 A.D.) of Delhi among others, belonged to this Order. Baba Farid initiated Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya in 1257 A.D. and showered many blessings on him and said, "I have given you both the worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustan." Baba Farid also gave the following blessings to Nizamuddin: "You will be a tree under whose shadow the people will find rest."⁸⁴

In 1325 A.D. the Sultan (Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq), when returning from a successful expedition in Bengal, had sent word to Nizamuddin to quit Delhi. The saint on receiving the royal command gave expression to the words : *هنوز دلی دور است* ("Hanoz Dilli dur ast") "Delhi is still far off" - a Persian saying which has become popular. The Sultan, however, was not destined to enter Delhi, and so could not summon the saint to his court."⁸⁵

Sheikh Farid in the Punjab and Sheikh Nizamuddin in Delhi made Sufism a mass movement.

2. QADARIYA SUFI ORDER (*Silsila*) - This Order was the creation of Mohiuddin Abdul Qadir born at Jilan in Persia in 1078 A.D. (471 A.H.). He migrated to Baghdad at the age of seventeen to study Hanbali jurisprudence. He was an erudite scholar, a powerful speaker and a saint with rare intuitive intelligence. His sermons had tremendous effect on the masses. He began to preach in 1127 A.D. on the holy life. It is said many flocked to hear his sermons as because he was said to perform many miracles. By his death in 1166 A.D., his influence had become so great that many Khanqahs خانقاہ (convents) recognized his authority and Sufis there called themselves Qadaris after his name. The Qadariya Order has been very strong and powerful in many Islamic countries which spread from Turkey to India and its influence in India, in the Punjab in particular,

is wide-spread to the present day.⁸⁶ The initiation of Ibn-al-Arabi into Qadariya Order has made all Qadarias (followers of this Order) staunch supporters of his *Wahdata-Wajud* philosophy. Mian Mir, Shah Husain, Dara Shikoh, Sarmad, Sultan Bahu, Bulleh Shah, Waris Shah and Ali Haidar also belonged to this Order. Most of the Sufi poets of the Punjab belonged to this order.

3. SUHRAWARDIYA SUFI ORDER (*Silsila*) - It was so named after Sheikh Abu Najib Abdul Qahir Suhrawardy (died 1168 A.D.), a distinguished Sufi, jurist and reformer. He was well versed in almost all the branches of Muslim learning. He had served as Principal of the famous Nizamiya Madrassa in Baghdad. Many of his spiritual descendants became founders of new *silsilas* such as Kubrawiya, Shattariya and Firdausia. However, his nephew, Shihabuddin Umar al-Suhrawardy (1144-1234 A.D.), stuck to the main line of the *Silsila*. He was a model of orthodox moderation and enjoyed the confidence and patronage of the high and mighty of his times who came to hear him preach. It was his uncle who initiated him to Sufism. He was a vigorous preacher with zeal. He wrote many books and the most famous being the *Awarif al-Ma'arif* (The Gifts of Divine Knowledge) became the fundamental text book of the Order.⁸⁷ His teachings were brought to India by Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan (1182 - 1262 A.D.) and found immediate acceptance. Bahauddin Zakaria propagated in living a normal, balanced life - a life in which both the body and spirit received equal care. Neither he himself fasted perpetually nor did he recommend a life of starvation and self-mortification to those associated with him. He was a contemporary of Farid-ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar. This Order exercised profound and great influence in Multan (Punjab) and Uchch (Sindh) and, later on, in Bengal, among other places. This was considered to be an Order of the elite and was not very popular with the common people.

4. NAQSHBANDIYA SUFI ORDER (*Silsila*) - This Order was founded by Khawaja Bahauddin Naqshbandi (died in 1389 A.D.) who belonged to Central Asian tradition. His contribution and expansion of the *Silsila* was so great that after his death the order came to be known as the Naqshbandiya *Silsila*. Amongst his disciples Khawaja Muhammad Parsa (died 1420 A.D.) was a notable figure whose spiritual descendant was Khawaja Ubaidullah

Ahrar (died 1490 A.D.), a saint of great eminence, who exercised immense influence over the Timurid princes.⁸⁸ Jami was one of the outstanding members of this order. Later it was established by Sheikh Ahmad Mujaddad Alf Sani of Sarhind (1563 - 1624 A.D.). The Naqshbandiya *Silsila* avoided musical sessions (*سماع* *Sama*, dervesh dances and *ذکر* *Zikr* with loud voice). Moderation in food, drink, sleep and dress was preached. According to this Order, "there is no stage higher than the stage of servanthood."⁸⁹

Ahmad Sarhindi⁹⁰ and three of his immediate successors were given the title of Qayyum.⁹¹ Naqshbandiya teachings did not influence Punjabi society, though his tomb is revered by the Muslims in Sarhind.

Besides the above, there are some minor Orders which are as follows :

5. MALAMATIYA ORDER - The word '*Malamat*' means blame. Sufis of this Order are known as blames-worthy. The Malamatiya is ready to be despised by men so that he may lose himself in God. According to him, true worship of God is best proved by the contempt in which the devotee is held by his fellow-men. He does not parade his inward way nor indulge in public *zikr* gatherings.⁹² Annemarie Schimmel writes, "The ideal of the Malamatiya developed out of a stress on *إخلاص* *Ikhlas* 'perfect sincerity'....Thus, the Malamatias deliberately tried to draw the contempt of the world upon themselves by committing unseemly, even unlawful, actions, but they preserved perfect purity of heart and loved God without second thought."⁹³

6. QALANDARIS - The Qalandariyas should possess qualities of "humility, lowliness, selflessness, asceticism and renunciation."⁹⁴ But they reduced themselves to the miserable state of beggars. According to Al-Maqrissi, they first appeared in Damascus. The Qalandari Order was introduced into India by Sayyid Najmuddin Ghaus Qalandar who was first a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya and, on the latter's suggestion, became a disciple of Khizr Rumi. Rumi appointed him his vicegerent and sent him back to India. He died in 1518 A.D., reportedly, at the age of 145.⁹⁵ Sharfuddin Qalandar of Panipat also belonged to this Order whose name is still venerated all over North India.⁹⁶

7. MADARI ORDER - The founder of this Order was Shah Madar whose real name was Sheikh Badiuddin. His shrine is at Makanpur in Kanpur.

Shah Madar was a Jew, tracing descent from Aaron, brother of Moses. He went to Mecca and Medina where he accepted Islam. "He is said to have remarked that he spent thirtyfive years of his life in Syria, forty in Mecca, Medina and Najaf and fifty in India."⁹⁷

The Madaris wore no garments, smeared their bodies with ashes and occasionally wore only black head gear. The most perfect among them even went naked in such cold countries as Kashmir and Kabul. *Dam Madar* (Madar is life) is the religious call of Madaris. According to them God was Spirit, Muhammad His Body, the Four Caliphs His two arms and feet; to them *Dam Madar* meant that everything depended on *dam* and *nafs* and both words can be translated as "breath."⁹⁸

Shah Madar is the patron of jugglers, acrobats and *bazigars*.

"It was in the Punjab", says K. A. Nizami, "that at least four of the major Sufi Orders the country has known, the Chishtiya, the Suhrawardiya, the Qadariya and the Naqshbandiya reached the meridian of their glory."

SPIRITUAL METHODOLOGY

Ma'rifat (gnosis) being the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, search was made and methods were explored by which *wasl* or *wasal* (union with the Lord) was possible. *Qalb*, that is heart, was considered as the medium through which finite could be tuned in with the Infinite. Consequently, every *silsila* developed its own method for attuning the heart. Saints of different *silsilas*, while developing their methods, took into consideration the temperament of the people living in particular regions. When a person desired to be initiated into a particular Sufistic order he gave his hand in the hands of his preceptor (*murshid*) as a gesture of repentance for his past sins (*tauba*) and promised to lead a chaste life in future. It was followed sometimes by shaving the head of the *shagird* or by simply placing a cap on his head. The disciple was also asked to adhere to the following methods so as to control his feelings and emotions -

- i) to recite the name of Allah loudly, sitting in a prescribed posture;
- ii) to recite the name of Allah silently;
- iii) to regulate the breath;

- iv) by absorption in mystic contemplation, and
- v) by observing *Chillah* for forty days during which a mystic confines himself to a lonely corner or cell and devotes himself to contemplation.⁹⁹ There are many variations in the observance of *Chillahs*.

Some Sufis stressed on the efficacy of music and *sama* (mystical dance). According to them music generated love of God and inspired sacred sentiments and feelings. Music is considered to have magic power which clears the mind and brings devotee's heart close to the Lord. Al-Ghazali has said, "The purpose of music, considered in relation to God, is to arouse longing for Him and passionate love towards Him and to produce states in which He reveals Himself and shows His favour, which are beyond description and are known only by experience, and, by the Sufis these states are called 'ecstasy'".

The *Sama* (mystical dance accompanied by music) became the most widely known expression of mystical life in Islam. *Sama* or *Qawwali* became one of the popular institutions of medieval Sufism and is even now very popular at the shrines of Sufi saints.¹⁰⁰

It must be understood that if metaphysics attracted the higher intellects, the Sufi ceremonials - *sama*, *urs*, *dervesh dances* - drew the common man to its fold. The Sufis made a considerable contribution by removing the contradictions between static theology and the rapidly changing conditions of life. It was indeed through Sufism that dynamic and progressive elements entered the social structure of Islam and other religions which co-existed as in the Indian sub-continent.

CLASSES OF SUFIS

There are seven classes of Sufis generally recognized in India, namely,

- i) Saints (*Auliya* أولياء singular *Wali* ولي)
- ii) Chiefs (*Naqba* نقبا)
- iii) Nobles (*Bakhba* بکبا)
- iv) Transformed One (*Abdal* ابدال)
- v) Pillars (*Amad* عمد)

- vi) Axis of World Greatness (*Qutab* قلوب)
- vii) Succourer of Universe (*Ghous* غوث)

It was the credulous belief of the masses and the adherents of Sufis that the Sufis could perform different types of miracles to help the faithful in many ways which are classified as follows -

- a) Miracles (*Mojza* معجزه)
- b) Favours (*Karamat* کرامات)
- c) Help (*Makhumat* مخومات), and
- d) Black Magic or Deception (*Isstidaraaj* اشتدراج)

THE DECAY OF SUFISM

The age of Baba Farid, Shah Hasain, Sultan Bahu, Bulleh Shah, and Waris Shah represents the climax of Sufi achievement in the Punjab, both theoretically and artistically. The Sufis often dissociated themselves from the established centres of Muslim orthodoxy as they believed that the *Ulema* misinterpreted the Holy Quran. The Sufis were convinced that the *Ulema*, by combining religious and political policy and co-operating with the Sultanate, were deviating from the original democratic, and egalitarian principles of the Holy Quran. The *Ulema*, in turn, denounced the Sufis for their liberal ideas. The existence of recluses living apart from their fellows was quite prevalent in India from ancient times and many Sufis started living life of recluses and thus became a part of an established tradition.

It is indeed a fact that the Islamic stress on equality was respected by the Sufis far more than by the *Ulema* and this brought the Sufis into direct contact with the cultivators and artisans. Thus the Sufis became more effective religious leaders than the *Ulema* for the peasants and others belonging to the lower strata of the society. The Sufis often reflected the non-conformist elements and the rationalist forces. Many Sufis opted out of society in order to pursue knowledge based on empirical studies when they felt that the more established tradition of rational thought had become so entangled with the rigid doctrines of the orthodox.

It is unfortunate that the Sufis, who in early crucial years were the most effective original thinkers in the spheres of both politics and religion,

should have detached themselves from social frame-work. Herein lies the genesis of decline in Sufism.

Although the influence of Sufi thought became wide-spread, the signs of decay became quite discernible. The cult of saints, legends of miracles and the blind faith of credulous masses in them indirectly promoted ignorance and superstition which hastened the process of decay in Sufism in the Punjab.

The Sufis who received inspiration from personal spiritual experience and acquired knowledge by assiduous study of religions and philosophies had begun to disappear by the end of the Eighteenth Century. The two main causes were -

1. Political changes, eventually followed new outlook on life; and
2. The selfishness of the *gaddi-nashins* and the ignorance of the Sufis.

The well-to-do and intelligent people got engaged in new activities. Sufism became the sole property of the *gaddi-nashins* and the lower classes. The *gaddi-nashins* found no charm in Sufi thought. If they clung to it, it was not for love of mysticism but because it had become a means of earning a livelihood. They did not care to what low state of moral and spiritual degradation it sank, as long as they could amass wealth.¹⁰¹ Mental concentration, meditation, and intelligent study, which formerly occupied the major part of a Sufi's time, were forsaken. Consequently, the seats of Sufi culture were soon plunged into deep ignorance.

Music and dancing, which were looked upon as means of revelation attained through ecstasy, and were often patronized and practised by the former Sufis were replaced by *مُجْرَا* *mujra*¹⁰² and *هَال* *hals*. In ancient mysticism *hal* was a mental state or condition obtained through Divine Grace, but in later mysticism it is a sort of ecstasy mingled with frenzy. The *hal* is played by the followers at the Sufi shrines. The person who plays it is believed to be possessed by some holy spirit and makes prophecies regarding the future. "The natural sequel to this ignorance and degeneration was an utter mental sterility."¹⁰³

With the decay having set in in Sufism, the natural corollary was that the influence of the Sufis on the people also gradually diminished. Had the

Sufis continued to contribute from within the society, their impact would have been more direct and they could have mobilised support of a less purely religious nature. Since the Sufi *Pirs* were as much revered by the Hindus as by the Muslims, communal harmony, even against heavy odds, would have been maintained and, in my opinion, the catastrophic happening in the wake of the partition of the country in 1947 A.D., could have been prevented.

THE IDEAL OF THE PUNJABI SUFI

A Sufi, who is guided by the will of God, passes through the various stages *مقامات* (*maqamat*) and the states *احوال* (*ahwal*) of the spiritual pilgrimage, encounters many proofs of special relationship in which he stands to God. He regards God as Pure Being.¹⁰⁴ Sufism is a spiritualistic pantheism which sees in the universe nothing but dim reflection of the Infinite Attributes of God. "Show what God is not and I will show you what He is." Thus philosophically God is Pure Being; mystically and devotionally He is Absolute Beauty. He is all Beautiful and the whole universe is the mirror of His Beauty.¹⁰⁵ The doctrine of mystical trinity of Love, Lover and Beloved took deep roots.¹⁰⁶

Absolute Being changes from Objective reality to one having identity with himself and with the universe. There is no God but Allah, no object of worship but Allah, and there is no existence save Allah (*Wahdatal Wajud*).¹⁰⁷

According to al-Ghazali in his *Mishkat-al-Anwar*, translated into English as *The Niche For Lights*, "Allah hath seventy thousand veils of Light and Darkness; were He to withdraw their curtains, then would the splendours of His Aspect surely consume everyone who apprehend Him with his sight". The Sufi on his spiritual pilgrimage along inward path tries to break through these veils to have a glimpse of the Almighty, to behold Him and have union with Him. It would be pertinent to mention here that reliance on miracles is one of the "veils" which hinder the elect from penetrating to the inmost shrine of the Truth, yet no Sufi in the world could be termed a saint unless he performed miracles which had become a part of his attributes.

The ideal of the Punjabi Sufi is to reach the highest goal. The goal may be the realisation of highest Truth, Goodness and Beauty. It may be

conquering the mind and desires and acquiring some spiritual powers through concentration, but for most of the Sufis the goal is to find God in all His creation and thus attain union with Him. This union or annihilation in God is to be fully achieved after death, but in some cases it was gained while living. A Sufi hopes to win a glimpse of immortality in this mortal life by passing away from self (*fana*) into the consciousness of survival in God (*baqa*).¹⁰⁸

Union gained while living is of two natures: partial and complete. A partial union is possible when the Sufi is in a state of supreme ecstasy. The complete union is obtained (in extremely rare cases) when all consciousness of self is lost and the mystic lives ever after in and with the Universal Self.

In the process of achieving union with God, a Sufi has to pass through the various stages (*maqamat*) and states (*ahwal*). A fundamental distinction is drawn between *maqamat* (stages) and *ahwal* (states); briefly, *maqamat* are stages of spiritual attainment on the pilgrim's progress to God which are the result of the mystic's personal efforts and endeavours, whereas the *ahwal* are spiritual moods (states) depending not upon the mystic but upon God. Al-Qushairi has beautifully defined: "The states are gifts; the stages are earnings."¹⁰⁹

Abu Nasr al-Sarraj enumerated,¹¹⁰ which are generally accepted, seven stages and ten states,¹¹¹ although some Sufis tend to extend the list of stages and states.

The seven stages (*maqamat*) are -

1. Conversion	- Tauba	तौबा	توبه
2. Abstinence	- Wara	वरा	ورا
3. Renunciation	- Zuhd	ज़ोहद	زهد
4. Poverty	- Faqr	फकर	فقر
5. Patience	- Sabr	सबर	صبر
6. Trust in God	- Tawakkul	तवक्कल	توکل
7. Satisfaction	- Rida	रज़ा	رضا

The ten states (*ahwal*) are -

1. Meditation	- <i>Tafakkur</i>	तफक्कर	تَفَكُّر
2. Nearness of God	- <i>Muraqaba</i> or <i>Qurb</i>	मुराकबा कुर्ब	مِرَاقِبَه قُرْب
3. Love	- <i>Mahabba</i> or <i>Ishq</i>	मुहब्बा इश्क	مَحَبَّة عِشْق
4. Fear	- <i>Khauf</i>	खौफ	خَوْف
5. Hope	- <i>Raja</i>	रजा	رَجَا
6. Longing	- <i>Shauq</i>	शौक	شَوْق
7. Intimacy	- <i>Uns</i>	उन्स	اُنْس
8. Tranquillity	- <i>Itminan</i>	इतमीनान	اِطمینان
9. Contemplation	- <i>Muraqaba</i> and Self Examination - <i>Muhasaba</i>	मुराकबा मुहासबा	مِرَاقِبَه مُحَاسَبَه
10. Certainty	- <i>Yaqin</i>	यकीन	يَقِين

This union or annihilation in God by passing through various stages and states is the ideal of the Punjabi Sufis. They refer to the stories of perfect love such as *Yusuf Zulaikha*, *Hir Ranjha*, *Sohni Mahiwal*, *Sassi Punnu*, *Laila Majnun*, *Mirza Sahiban* and others, which have a spiritual significance for them. The heroines, in these tales, stand for the Sufi (the Soul) and the heroes for God (the Beloved Sought).¹¹²

Mystical verse played an important part in the Sufi life.¹¹³ Many anecdotes of the early Sufis relate how fond they were of quoting love poetry, often in the first place of a purely human character, which they interpreted allegorically to accord with their own passionate spiritualism.¹¹⁴ It is necessary to bear in mind how fundamental in Sufi thought is this allegory of love, and how readily in their minds human and Divine imagery is interchanged. In languages and on themes, in metaphors and similies easily understood by the people, the Sufis composed poems songs and hymns praising the Beloved, describing the pain and sorrow inflicted by

separation, and ultimately the joy, peace and tranquillity attained in the union.¹¹⁵

The Punjab has been fortunate enough to have a very good number of Sufi shrines. Every two or three kilometres there are one or two of them. Every shrine possesses some traditional verse of its own composed by the saint. The *qawwaals* sing these verses of the saints in the presence of admirers and worshippers of the saints. In this manner, the Punjabis are lucky to have noble pious and sweet poetry which inspires them even today to seek the Divine Love.

INFLUENCE OF SUFIS ON PUNJABI LITERATURE

The influence of Sufi thought and verse on Punjabi literature has been tremendous. There is hardly any poet or writer who remained free from this influence. Even the writers of purely romance have absorbed so much of mystic ideas that people often think them to be Sufis.¹¹⁶

The mystic idea that love is supreme and beyond all religious and social barriers has also passed on into the entire Punjabi literature.¹¹⁷ The following example is quite appropriate to show the extent of Sufi influence on Punjabi literature, in general -

کہندا عشق دی ذات صفات ناہیں
 ناہیں عاشقاں دا مذہب دین رانی
 عشق ذات کذات نہ نیچو دا ای
 ایس عشق دی بات اچرج رانی
 عشق پاک پلیت نہ سمجھو دا ای
 ناہیں جاذا کفر اسلام زانی
 امام بخش نہ خوف ہے عاشقاں نوں
 خواہ موت ہوئے خواہ زندگانی

कहँदा इश्क दी ज़ात सफात नाहीं
 नाहीं आशाकाँ दा मज़हब दीन रानी
 इश्क ज़ात कुज़ात ना पुछ दा ई
 ऐ इश्क दी बात अचर्ज रानी !

इश्क पाक पलीत ना समझ दा ई
 नाहीं जानदा कुफर इसलाम रानी !
 इमाम बक्श ना खौफ है आशाकाँ नूँ
 खाह मौत होवे खाह जिंदगानी !!

*Kehinda ishq di zaat safaat nahin
 Nahin ashkaan da mazhab din rani.
 Ishq zaat kuzaat na puchh da ee
 Eh ishq di baat acharj rani.
 Ishq paak paleet na samajh da ee
 Nahin jan da kufr islam rani.
 Amam Baksh na khauf hai ashqaan nun
 Khah maut hove khah zindgaani.¹¹⁸*

(Says he, for love exists no race and qualities, nor have religion and creed, Rani. Love asks not high or low caste, the tale of this love is strange, Rani. The Lover understands not pure and impure, nor recognises heathenism and Islam, Rani. Amam Baksh! the lovers have no fear whether death occurs or life remains.)

The instability of the creation and the deception played by many illusions of this world (borrowed from Hinduism), and believed by the Sufis, took deep and firm roots in the Punjabi literature which continued to surface in some or the other form with remarkable regularity, as will be seen in Shah Muhammad's following composition.

ایچھے آیاں نوں دنیا موہ لیندی
 دغے بازی دا دھار کے بھیس میاں
 سدا نہیں جوانی تے ایش ماپے
 سدا نہیں جے بال درس میاں
 سدا نہیں اے دولتیاں فیل گھوڑے
 سدا نہیں جے راجیاں دیس میاں
 شاہ محمد سدا نہ روپ دنیا
 سدا رہن نہ کا لڑے کیس میاں

ऐथे आयॉ नूं दुनियाँ मोह लैन्दी
 दगें बाज़ी दा घर के भेस मीयॉ !
 सदा नहीं जवानी ते ऐश मापे
 सदा नहीं जे बाल वरस मीयॉ !
 सदा नहीं जे दौलतॉ फील घोड़े
 सदा नहीं जे राजियाँ देस मीयॉ !
 शाह मुहम्मद सदा ना रूप दुनियाँ
 सदा रहन ना कालड़े केस मीयॉ !!

*Ethe ayan nun duniyan moh laindi,
 Daghe baazi da dhaar ke bhes, miyan.
 Sada nahin jawani te aish mape,
 Sada nahin je baal waras, miyan.
 Sada nahin je daulatan fil ghore,
 Sada nahin je rajian des, miyan.
 Shah Muhammad sada na roop duniyan,
 Sada rehan na kalde kes, miyan.*¹¹⁹

(Here human beings are deluded by the world, by wearing the guise of deceivers, Miyan. Youth, pleasure and parents are not for ever, nor is for ever childhood, Miyan. The treasures, elephants and horses are not for ever, nor are kingdoms for ever possessed by the kings, Miyan. Shah Muhammad ! Beauty is not for ever in the world, nor are hair black for ever, Miyan.)

The *Sufiana Kalam* or the *Sufi Kaviya Dhara*, as the poetry of Punjabi Sufi poets has come to be known, has profoundly influenced poets of modern times beginning from Bhai Vir Singh (1878-1957 A.D.), generally acknowledged to be the father of modern Punjabi literature, Dhani Ram Chatrak (1876-1954 A.D.), known as 'Maha Kavi' because of his enormous literary output, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana (1899-1984 A.D.), Dr. Faqir Muhammad Faqir (1900-1983 A.D.), Mohan Singh Mahir (1905-1978 A.D.) and ending with Shiv Batalvi (1936-1973 A.D.), among others. The Sufistic stream of poetry is now so firmly entrenched and intertwined in Punjabi language and literature that it is continuing to inspire and illuminate even the writers and poets of pure romance who have absorbed so much of the mystic ideas that they are often thought to be Sufis.

ROLE OF THE SUFIS IN MAINTAINING COMMUNAL HARMONY

The Sufis who came to the Punjab with the object of leading the people to the Beloved by Muhammad's path, did creditable work for some years. Then the old Punjabi vigour asserted itself and in its turn influenced the Sufi beliefs. The Punjabi Sufis, therefore, absorbed the best of Islam and Hinduism¹²⁰ and developed a new sort of Sufi thought more Punjabi than foreign in character.

It is also significant to note that in the early days of Muslim settlements in the Punjab, there existed widespread misgivings between the foreign Muslims settled and the neo-Muslims (newly converted ones), between the Muslims and the non-Muslims, between the rulers and the ruled, the Sufis with their enlightened and liberal approach acted as mediators. The liberal and enlightened Islam represented by the Sufis not only removed misunderstandings between classes and sections of the community but also forged bonds of mutual understanding and friendship and fostered Hindu-Muslim unity in the Punjab. As time passed by, under the guidance of Sufis, attempts were made to synthesize the two alien cultures which led to a composite culture drawing all that was good both from Hinduism and Islam and made it into a Hindu - Muslim culture. This composite culture evolved was the outcome of extensive interaction between the Hindus and the Muslims. It was, in fact, this understanding which led to the opening of doors for further exploration in the synchronisation of two different beliefs in the subsequent years.

The Sufis opened the way for a mutual appreciation of aesthetic values which revolutionised the whole cultural attitude of the Hindus and the Muslims in the medieval period. Because of their liberal thinking and practical approach, a significant role was played by the Sufis in the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic culture in the Punjab. This hybrid culture which emerged in the form of a composite culture drew nectar from both Hinduism and Islam. The real fusion could be possible only in the Fifteenth Century A.D., and thereafter when Bhakti movement gained currency and Guru Nanak Dev formed a new faith, Sikhism. Guru Nanak Dev was greatly influenced by the Sufis and in forming the new faith he

not only tried to reconcile the two traditional religions in a harmonious way but also gave a new direction for universal ideas of humanity, moral upliftment, justice and pursuit of godliness, principles which form the real religion of man for all times.

The Muslims who came lived surrounded by the Hindu people and a state of perennial hostility with them was impossible. Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding. Many who had changed their faith differed little from those whom they had left. Thus after the first shock of conquest was over, the Hindus and Muslims prepared to find a via-media whereby to live as neighbours. The effort to seek a new life led to the development of a new culture which was neither exclusively Hindu nor purely Muslim. It was Muslim-Hindu culture.¹²¹

Under the Sultans of Delhi and early Mughals, who, by and large, held Sufis in high esteem and great veneration, Sufism thrived and became wide-spread. "From the 13th Century", remarks Professor Gibb, "Sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual emerges within the community to become bearer or instrument of a social and cultural revolution. Perhaps in no other country were the effects of this social and cultural revolution so marked and so far reaching as in India."¹²² This is very true particularly in respect of the Punjab.

Till the reign of Aurangzeb, there was general stability in the country. In spite of Aurangzeb's known antipathy against Hinduism, the Sufis did a commendable work in spiritual attainments and bringing different communities closer together by propagating tolerance, freedom of thought, love, fellow feeling and understanding.¹²³

Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., Punjab had been a stage for dissensions and disruptions and from 1738 A.D. to the end of the Eighteenth Century, it witnessed no peace at all.¹²⁴ The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D., the successive umpteen raids of Ahmed Shah Abdali, the first of which began in 1748 A.D., and in the wake of disintegration of the Mughal Empire, the desire of the Provincial rulers to become independent, contributed to create trouble and confusion. This greatly affected the feelings and tolerance amongst members of various communities.¹²⁵ In these troublous times, all the Sufis, in general, and of

the philosophic school, in particular, maintained with their preachings the mental balance of the different communities. A good number of them made attempts to create friendly feelings by harmonizing the opposing systems. Their friendly and tolerant utterances retained the favour of both Hindus and Muslims and circulated among the masses in the form of allegorical poems, songs, proverbs and hymns. As tolerance was their motto, they influenced the people's thought and sent the message of peace, love, fellowship, understanding, amity and unity to every nook and corner.¹²⁶ In times of turmoil, Sufis were chiefly responsible for maintaining communal harmony and infused a spirit of solidarity amongst different communities and bestowed a remarkable legacy for posterity.¹²⁷

To sum up it can be stated that Sufism, which was, essentially, a product of Islam and which originated in Arabia, made a singular contribution in developing philosophical thoughts, intellectual pursuits and spiritual attainments, in the medieval age, in the Islamic world then spanning the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.¹²⁸ Philosophically and intellectually, Sufism reached the zenith of its glory in Persia;¹²⁹ but as an instrument of a social and cultural revolution and as a spiritual and dynamic way of life, it made the most significant and lasting contribution in harmonising the fusion of plurality of diverse religious systems in India,¹³⁰ in general and in the Punjab, in particular.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

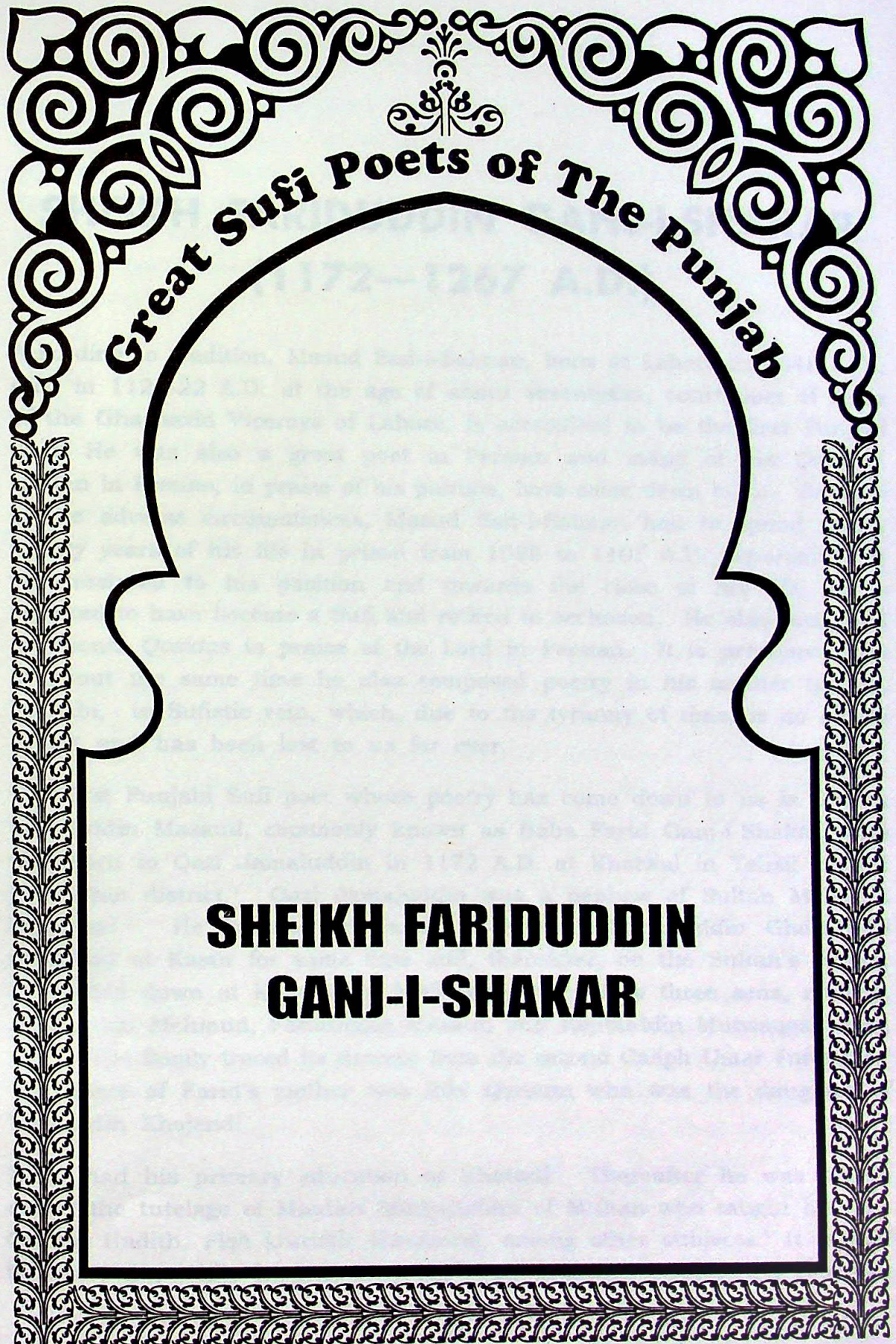
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2. Nicholson, R. A., in *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1906.
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4. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 10.
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6. *Ibid*, p. 12.
7. *Ibid*, p. 13.
8. *Ibid*, p. 14.
9. *Hadith* (Traditions).
10. Syedur Rehman, *An Introduction to Islamic Philosophy*, p. 215.
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13. Syedur Rehman, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
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16. As quoted by Nicholson in his article, J.R.A.S. Vol. XXXVIII, 1906.
17. Munshi Fani, *Dabistan*, Vol. III p. 281.
18. Nicholson in J.R.A.S., Vol. XXXVIII 1906, p. 318.
19. Syedur Rehman, op. cit., p. 212.
20. These sceptics were mostly of non-Arabic origin, the majority being Persians and Kurds.
21. Some Western Scholars are hostile to any Hindu influences and completely ignore traces of Buddhist influences. See *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII and Nicholson's works.
22. Quoted by Syedur Rehman, op. cit., p. 211.
23. Chopra, R. M., *The Contribution of The Indian Sufis to The Communal Harmony in Indo Iranica* Vol. 48 (1-4), p. 98.
24. Ibid., p. 98.
25. Ibid., p. 98.
26. L. Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 3.
27. It is said that *Fana bi'l tawhid*, this Sufi doctrine, Bistami learnt from his teacher, Abu Ali Sindi (or of Sind), to whom, in exchange, he taught the Hanafite canonical law (legal knowledge). The influence of *Vedanta* can be traced to this common belief. Nicholson also mentions in *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 246.
28. Syedur Rehman, op. cit., p. 224.
29. Ibid., p. 225.
30. Ibid., p. 225.
31. Ibid., p. 225.
32. Arberry, A. J. *Sufism*, p. 54. Out of the ascetic and theosophical tendencies of Sufism, the 'ascetic' traditions were far less suspect in the eyes of the orthodox than the 'theosophical'.
33. Al-Sarraj, *Kitab-al-Luma*, p. 382, quoted by Arberry.
34. Arberry, A. J., *Sufism*, p. 55.
35. Al-Qushairi, *Risala* (Epistle to the Sufis) pp. 3, 136.
36. The Quran, 7:166 - 7.
37. Al-Qushairi, *Risala*, p. 126.
38. Arberry, A. J., *Sufism*, p. 58.
39. Syedur Rehman, op. cit. p. 226.
40. Arberry, A. J., op. cit. p. 61.
41. Ibid, p. 67.
42. Ibid, p. 67.
43. L. Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 4.
44. Bistami himself was exiled many times from his native place and Mansur al-Hallaj was crucified in 922 A.D.
45. *Islam*, p. 57.
46. Ibid., pp. 57, 58.
47. Ibid., p. 58.

48. Arberry, A. J., op. cit., p. 81.
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50. Ibid., p. 83.
51. Nicholson in *Legacy of Islam*, p. 224.
52. Ibid., p. 224.
53. Syedur Rehman, op. cit., p-233.
54. Ibid., p. 235.
55. Ibid., p. 235.
56. Ibid., p. 235.
57. Ibid., p. 235.
58. Ibid., p. 235.
59. Arberry. A. J., op. cit., p. 99.
60. Syedur Rehman, op. cit., p. 235.
61. *Mathnawi* edited and translated by R. A. Nicholson, BK VI pp. 323, 324.
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63. *Golistan*, Vol. II, p. 16, translated by A. J. Arberry, *Kings And Beggars* pp. 81-83 quoted by G. E. Von Grunebaun in *Islam*, p. 39.
64. Hiralall Chopra in *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. 29 (1-4) p. 28.
65. Ibid., p. 29.
66. Arberry, A. J., op. cit., p. 111.
67. Ibid., p. 117.
68. Hira Lall Chopra, op. cit., p. 30.
69. It is reminiscent of the teachings of Shrimad Bhagvad Gita.
70. Hira Lall Chopra, op. cit., p. 33.
71. Ibid., p. 38. This message is enshrined in the perennial teachings of Shrimad Bhagvad Gita.
72. Zahuruddin Ahmad, in his *Mystic Tendencies in Islam*, p. 142, writes, 'Out of the later Sufis very few appear to have given any thought to this practical aspect (conversion) of the doctrines of Islamic Sufism.'
73. Arberry A.J., op. cit. p. 119.
74. *Dabistan*, Vol. III, p. 281 (of Shea, David, and Troyer).
75. "The doctrine of 'Karma' which is alien to Sufism" (Nicholson's *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 19) became now one of its doctrines. *The Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*, p. 330.
76. Sahibjani, a celebrated Sufi of the Seventeenth Century, performed the puja in the house of idols (*Dabistan*, Vol. III, p. 302). The Punjabi Sufi, when he attained the stage of understanding, considered his temple and mosque everywhere.
77. See the works of Shah Husain, Sultan Bahu and Bulleh Shah.
78. *Legacy of India*, pp. 291, 292.
79. L. Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 7.
80. Ibid., p. 7.
81. Ibid., p. 7.

82. *Islam*, p. 61.
83. Md. Noor Nabi, *Development of Muslim Thought in India*, p. 22.
84. Nizami, K. A., *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid*, pp. 24, 25.
85. John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines*, p. 222.
86. Arberry A.J., *Sufism*, p. 85.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
88. *Islam*, p. 61.
89. Islamic Culture : *The Life and Mission of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhandi* by Abdul Haq Ansari, p. 100.
90. The teachings of Ahmed Sarhindi are mainly embodied in a series of letters which were collected in his lifetime and are now published in three large volumes.
91. It would seem that the Qayyum is to be considered higher in rank and dignity than the Perfect Man. He is the dignitary on whom the whole order of existence depends, and under whose control are all Names, Attributes and things actual and potential. All things, animate and inanimate, are under his shadow.
92. Spencer Tringham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, pp. 265, 266.
93. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 86.
94. *Qalandar Nama*, written by Khawaja Abdulla Ansari based on conversations with a Qalandar.
95. Rizvi, S.A.A., *A History to Sufism in India*, Vol. I, p. 302.
96. John A. Subhan, *Sufism - Its Saints and Shrines*, p. 302.
97. Rizvi, S.A.A., op. cit., Vol I. p. 318.
98. *Ibid.* p. 318.
99. *Islam*, p. 66.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
101. Almost all the *gaddi-nashins* are rich people, and some of them are millionaires.
102. A nautch party. The dancers are generally *tawaiifs*.
103. L. Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 146.
104. Arberry, A.J., op. cit. p. 104.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 102. This was interpreted along the lines of Ibn al-Arabi's theosophy.
107. Theory propounded by Ibn al-Arabi.
108. The doctrine developed by Abu Yazid (Bayazid) Bistami in the 9th Century A.D.
109. Arberry, A.J., op. cit. p. 75.
110. In the monumental work *Kitab-al-Luma*.
111. Nicholson, *Mystics of Islam*, pp. 28, 29.
112. See the doctrine propounded and advanced by Jalal ud-Din Rumi.
113. The effect of Qadariyas' love for music and dancing is discernible.
114. Here the Punjabi Sufis were greatly influenced by Persian Sufis. *Ishq-i-Haqiqi* is seen through the veil of *Ishq-i-Majazi*.
115. This union, in Sufi parlance, is also known as *Wasl* or *Wasal*.

116. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit. p. 18.
117. Ibid., p. 19.
118. It is taken from *Chandar Badan*.
119. It is taken from *Qissa Larai Singhan*.
120. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 154.
121. Tara Chand, *The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 136.
122. Gibb, H. A. R., *Mohammadanism*.
123. Chopra R. M., in *The Contribution of The Indian Sufis to The Communal Harmony in Indo-Iranica* Vol. 48 (1-4), p. 109.
124. Ibid., p. 109.
125. Ibid., p. 109.
126. Ibid., p. 109.
127. Ibid., p. 110.
128. Ibid., p. 110.
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130. Ibid., p. 110.



SHEIKH FARIDUDDIN
GANJ-I-SHAKAR

Great South Poets of The Punjab

SHAIKH FARIDUDDIN
GANI-I-SHAKAR

SHEIKH FARIDUDDIN GANJ-I-SHAKAR **(1172—1267 A.D.)**

According to tradition, Masud Sad-i-Salman, born at Lahore in 1048 A.D., died in 1121-22 A.D. at the age of about seventyfive, court poet of some of the Ghaznavid Viceroys of Lahore, is accredited to be the first Punjabi poet. He was also a great poet in Persian and many of his *Qasidas*, written in Persian, in praise of his patrons, have come down to us. Because of the adverse circumstances, Masud Sad-i-Salman had to spend nearly twenty years of his life in prison from 1088 to 1107 A.D., whereafter he was restored to his position and towards the close of his life, he is reported to have become a Sufi and retired to seclusion. He also composed devotional *Qasidas* in praise of the Lord in Persian. It is presumed that at about the same time he also composed poetry in his mother tongue, Punjabi, in Sufistic vein, which, due to the tyranny of time, is no longer extant and has been lost to us for ever.

The first Punjabi Sufi poet whose poetry has come down to us is Sheikh Fariduddin Masaud, commonly known as Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, who was born to Qazi Jamaluddin in 1172 A.D. at Khotwal in Tehsil Dahari in Multan district.¹ Qazi Jamaluddin was a nephew of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi.² He followed the arms of Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori and remained at Kasur for some time and, thereafter, on the Sultan's orders, he settled down at Khotwal in Multan district where three sons, namely, Aizazuddin Mehmud, Fariduddin Masaud and Najibuddin Mutwaqqal, were born. The family traced its descent from the second Caliph Umar Farooque.³ The name of Farid's mother was Bibi Qarsum who was the daughter of Wajiuddin Khojendi.

Farid had his primary education at Khotwal. Thereafter he was placed under the tutelage of Maulavi Minhajuddin of Multan who taught him the Quran, Hadith, *Fiqh* (Juristic literature), among other subjects.⁴ It is said that one day while he was studying *Fiqh*, Khawaja Qutabuddin Bakhtiar

Kaki came to meet his teacher and found Farid absorbed in his studies. While the Khawaja was busy in talking to the Maulavi, Farid was so impressed by the Khawaja that he requested him to make him his disciple. The Khawaja told him clearly and emphatically that, first, he must acquire elementary knowledge and only then he should come to him in Delhi for advanced studies in religion and Sufism and, while parting, remarked that "uninitiated and without proper knowledge, a Sufi is no better than a jester."⁵

After his studies at Multan, Farid is believed to have gone to other centres of Islamic studies such as Qandhar, Baghdad, Damascus and other places in Iran, Iraq and Syria. During the course of his long journeys, he is reported to have met great Sufis such as Sheikh Shahabuddin Suhrawardy, Khawaja Fariduddin Attar, Sheikh Sa'adi and others.⁶ His travels broadened his outlook and made it universal. On his return to Delhi, he fell on the feet of Khawaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki who himself was an associate and disciple of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti Sanjari of Ajmer.

When Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti visited Delhi he remarked : "Baba Bakhtiar : you have caught a noble falcon which will not build his nest except on the holy tree of Heaven. Farid is a lamp that will illuminate the Silsila of the derveshes." Khawaja Moinuddin then asked his disciple to bestow spiritual gifts and blessings on Farid, but Sheikh Qutabuddin apologized that in the presence of his master he could not have the courage to bestow anything on him. Thereupon both the saints blessed Farid. It was indeed a unique honour for a unique disciple in the history of Chishtiya Silsila. No saint before him, or even after, was thus blessed by the master and the master of his master.

It was in Khawaja Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki's honour that, after his death, Qutab Minar in Delhi was constructed by the orders of Sultan Iltutmish. In Delhi, Farid learnt about Sufi practices and concentrated on Sufistic attainments under the guidance of his preceptor. On one occasion, under orders from his *Murshid*, he had to go to Hansi, in Hissar district, for the propagation of his ideology and he spent some time there.⁷ On the death of his preceptor, Khawaja Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, Farid inherited his patched mantle and became *Gaddi-nashin* and started holding religious discourses on Islam and Sufism which were heard with such rapt

attention by the people of Delhi that large crowds always waited upon him to seek his blessings. He was kept very busy which did not leave any time for him for further concentration and spiritual pursuits. He once again came to Hansi in search of a quiet place but here also his fame had spread so fast that he did not find time for spiritual pursuits and Sufistic attainments. He finally decided to come to Ajodhan, a hamlet on the bank of river Sutlej, near an ancient township of Dipalpur in Montgomery district, now known as Sahawal district in Pakistan, which, in those days, was an isolated and lonely mound with peaceful surroundings and settled there.⁸

According to tradition, it is said that while proceeding to Ajodhan from Hansi, Farid had a short sojourn at Mokai Har, ruled by the Rajput Chief Mokalsi, a descendent of Jaisel of Jaiselmer fame, where a mud fort was being built for defence against the onslaughts of Mongols. Farid also extended his helping hand in carrying mud in baskets for the construction of the fort like other labourers employed for the job. Then a miracle was wrought. The basket of mud which he lifted began to float in the air without any visible support. This extra-ordinary sight astounded everyone including the Rajput Chief Mokalsi who fell at his feet and acknowledged the presence of such a holy man worthy of reverence and named the fort after him as Faridkot (fort of Farid). The place where the miracle was wrought is known as "*Chilla Baba Farid*" and there an annual *urs* in the form of Aagman Purb (fair) is held in the month of September and is visited by throngs of pilgrims irrespective of caste and creed.

Farid spent rest of his life at Ajodhan where he died in 1267 A.D. at the age of ninetyfive and a mausoleum was constructed by Nizamuddin Auliya under orders of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban and every year *urs sharif* is held on 5th or 6th of Muharram where hundreds and thousands of people come to pay their respects to the memory of the Saint.⁹ It was during the visit of Akbar the Great to the holy shrine that Ajodhan was renamed Pak Pattan (Holy Wharf) which name has remained till date.

Inspite of Farid having connections with the Sultans and high-ups (he was connected with Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and he himself was the son-in-law of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban) and with the spiritual personages of his time (he was a disciple of Khawaja Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and his

disciple was Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi), he was a simple and kind Sufi who preferred solitude and isolation so that he could pursue his Sufistic practices and spiritual attainments in comparative peaceful environments. Because of his popularity it is said that Qazi of Ajodhan, Shahabuddin, was jealous of him and tried to create problems for the saint but the saint, in his magnanimity, never even bothered to care about such trivia.¹⁰

Farid is generally known as Ganj-i-Shakar. This title has origin in the miracles supposed to have been performed by the saint. There are many versions. One version is that when very young, his mother told him that the reward for prayer was sugar. In order to encourage him to say regular *namaz*, she would hide some sugar under his prayer-carpet, which the boy, Farid, got after the prayer. On one occasion, it seems, his mother went out and did not place any sugar under the carpet and Farid offered his prayer alone. As usual, after the prayer he lifted the carpet and found a great supply of sugar - which was construed as a miraculous gift of the Almighty to young Farid.¹¹ His mother, on her return, when told was greatly surprised and she named him Ganj-i-Shakar—Treasure of Sugar. Offerings of sugar are made by the faithful at the Holy Shrine of Baba Farid at Pak Pattan.

There are many *karamats* (miracles) attributed to Farid. Once a merchant was carrying bags full of sugar on the backs of camels and Farid happened to pass by. Out of curiosity, he enquired of the merchant what was in the bags? The merchant, out of caparice, replied that he was carrying salt. Farid said, "Let it be salt then." When the merchant reached his destination and opened the consignment, bags were found to contain salt. The merchant, repentent of his capricious remarks, came running to the saint and explained his predicament and sought forgiveness and said that the bags, in fact, had contained sugar. The saint told him, "If you say so, then let it be sugar." When the merchant went back, he was happy to find that the bags were, in fact, full of sugar.¹²

Another *karamat* (miracle) is that once a young man from Delhi was on his way to Ajodhan to become a disciple of the saint. During his journey, at a serai, he met a beautiful young lass who was also a co-passenger. After a few stages of journey together, at a lonely place, the young man, taking advantage of the situation, attempted to rape the woman but at that very

moment an angel-like man appeared on the scene and gave a good thrashing to the man and strongly reprimanded him for his misdemeanor especially when he was on a sacred mission of seeking discipleship of such a holy person as Sheikh Farid. The man at once came to his senses and thanked God that he was spared the pains of committing this heinous sin. When the young man came before the saint, the saint, first of all, confronted him with this happening to the great astonishment of the man who sought forgiveness and fell on the feet of the saint.¹³

"All the Sheikhs of India". remarks Muhammad Ghausi, "are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled Ganj-i-Shakar in his devotions and penitences. In fact his life is one long story of prayers, vigils and fasts. These penitences not only purified his inner life but opened his soul to the indwelling power of God. Baba Farid, as we have seen, was drawn to a life of prayers and fasts by his mother. He was very fond of sugar and everytime that he offered his obligatory prayers, his mother gave him some sugar. Later, when Baba Farid's interest in prayers developed and he subjected himself to severe spiritual exercises, his mother proved to be a very hard task-master."¹⁴

SUFISM OF BABA FARID

Baba Farid, as he had come to be known, belonged to *Chishtiya Silsila* (Order) of Sufism. It was initiated by Abul Haq Shami (of Syria) who came to Chisht, a township situated on the river Hari, some one hundred kilometres east of Herat, in Afghanistan, where he preached. This *silsila* was brought to India by Sheikh Moinuddin Chishti Sanjari (1142-1236 A.D.) who came in the reign of Prithviraj Chauhan and settled at Ajmer to preach. Sheikh Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki (1186-1236 A.D.) was a close associate and disciple of Sheikh Moinuddin Chishti. Baba Farid was a disciple of Sheikh Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki. According to Sheikh Moinuddin Chishti, "A mystic is like the sun who shines on the whole world equally".

Unity of Godhead and Muhammad's religion being the only true way to attain salvation was the creed of the *Chishtiya Silsila* in India.¹⁵ Sufism, in the initial stages, though was confined to the parameters of strict Islamic code yet the peaceful, tolerant and friendly elements of Sufis so

appealed to the people, in general, and lower grades of Hindus, who were neglected by the higher classes, in particular, that almost all the willing conversions were no doubt the result of Sufi preachings. Farid made Sufism a mass movement in the Punjab and was responsible for the conversion of hundreds and thousands of Rajputs to Islam. His efforts in this connection, were supplemented by two factors, namely :

Firstly, the political domination of the Muslims left the Hindus completely helpless especially economically. Economic compulsions prompted them to embrace Islam which at once raised their status.

Secondly, the social disintegrity of the Hindus helped him with converts. If a man of high cast of Hindus ate or drank at Farid's or any Muslim's house, he was excommunicated, and, in the absence of any prescribed form of 'repentance' by the Brahmins, was compelled to become a Sufi, hence a Muslim.

Thus the Chishtis of Ajodhan were the *Pirs* or saints of the Punjab more than anything else.

Sheikh Farid was not a mystic in the common sense of the term, who would reveal mysteries and teach esoteric truths. He considered the *haqiqat* (essence) of Sufism that —

"Real life is that which a darvesh passes in remembering God".

He is reported to have often said to the people -

"May God give you love".

It is significant to note the Sufism of Baba Farid was that there are many paths leading to the Lord, but the shortest is to console the afflicted and to give comfort to the hearts of men. According to him one has to observe three things: *ikhlas*, or sincerity and purity of motive; *ihsan*, or a living awareness of God's presence, and *nasihat*, or a profound concern and active struggle for the good and well-being of man.

Baba Farid was of firm conviction that man comes to the world for unity with the Lord and without Him nothing exists which he has emphatically stressed in his Persian composition, as follows —

من نیم واللہ یا را من نیم !
 جان جانم سرِ سرم من نیم
 نورِ پاک احمد دم درمشت خاک
 کورِ چشمان را اگر روشن نیم
 دوست اندر سر من ظاهر شده
 من نیم مسعود باللہ من نیم !

मन नीम वा अल्लाह यारा मन नीम !
 जान जानम सिर सरम मन नीम !!
 नूरे पाक एहमदम दर मुशते खाक
 कोर चशमाँ रा अगर रौशन नीम !
 दोस्त अन्दर सिर मन जाहिर शुधा
 मन नीम मसऊद बा अल्लाह मन नीम !!

Mann mim, wa allah yara, mann nim !
Jan janam sir saram mann nim.
Noor-i-pak ahmadam dar musht-i-khak,
Kor chashman ra agar roshan nim.
Dost andar sir mann zahir shudah,
Mann nim, masaud ba allah, mann nim.

(It is not me, Oh God ! It is not me; in my head it is the soul of the Beloved, it is not me. In my fistful of dust (i-e my body) it is the light of the Holy Prophet; although it cannot be seen by those who have no perception. In my head, the Divine Beloved is manifest; it is not me, Masaud, by God ! it is not me.)

Baba Farid preferred love of solitude, a withdrawal from active life in society, a renunciation of material needs, a continuous remembrance of God with utmost humility and with an element of ecstasy.

Baba Farid was known for his austere devotions. One such austerity was the *Chillah Ma'kus*, praying for God in a state of inverted suspension in a well for forty nights being lowered down every night and taken out in the morning by a friend who attended on him.

Baba Farid preached what he practised. Some people think that those who are poor suffer some curse of God, while those who live in luxury and eat rich food are blessed by God. Baba Farid believed that riches are acquired by most people by unfair means and what they generally eat is unlawful food based on the exploitation of the poor. He was of the firm conviction that such people ultimately suffer for all their sinful acts.

Another element which is conspicuous in Baba Farid's discipline is his great renunciation, his love for poverty and starvation. It is indeed remarkable that he kept up to his self-imposed high standards throughout his life.

Baba Farid was deeply concerned with the good of mankind and whenever he had some money he would always give it to the needy. No one ever went from his door empty handed. This is how he brought himself to the level of the masses.

Baba Farid used to say, "There can be no pleasure in devotions so long as there remains a single needy person at the door." Because of the great renunciation and selfless devotion to the happiness of men, the impact made by Baba on the people of the Punjab was tremendous which gradually spread out to the whole of Northern India and is borne out by the chronicler Barani that the Baba had taken "the inhabitants of the region under his wings".

Baba Farid combined within him three qualities, namely, first, a sincere pursuit of the highest ideals of religion in his own sphere; second, a profound love of God (*ishq* in Sufism); and third, sympathy and sacrifice for all.

Baba Farid, among others, initiated Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325 A.D.) and his own nephew, Ali Ahmad Sabir of Kalliar Sharif into Sufism. Nizamuddin became a disciple of Baba Farid who narrates that one day while he was waiting at the door of Baba Farid's room he heard the Baba reciting couplets in Persian, the meaning of which was —

"My Lord: I want to live by Thine love, I wish to be the dust under Thy feet. There is nothing that I want from this world or the next, and I have no

desire except that I should live for Thee and die for Thee".

After knocking at the door when Nizamuddin entered the room of Baba Farid, he found the Baba in a state of rapture and ecstasy and, unmindful of Nizamuddin's presence, passionately and repeatedly reciting in Persian to the effect —

"I love none in either worlds except Thee,

I want only to live for Thee and die for Thee."

So intense was his love for the Supreme Being.

Baba Farid was fond of *sama* (mystical dance) and hearing of spiritual songs, which, according to him, kindled the fire of love for the Divine Beloved. He did not approve of long spells of ecstasy or *hals* and admonished his highly emotional disciples to desist from it as many of the lesser mortals are said to have died from the emotions thus aroused.

He would often speak in very moving terms to people for bringing happiness to everyone, even to one's enemies. He would always strive to do his best to render to each his due. It was his practice to meet his visitors after the noon prayers and he tried to help them in all possible ways. He would call them one by one, listen to their woes and try to resolve their matters. He would pray for them, give them *tawiz*, write letters of recommendation and, when he had some money given to him unasked, he would immediately spend on the needy people who flocked to his *khanqah*. He is reported to have said that "When people eat before me, I feel their food passing down my gullet, as though I am actually eating."

Nizamuddin, according to tradition, became his son-in-law on whom the Baba showered many blessings, among others, the following :

"I have given you both the worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustan." Again he said, "You will be a tree under whose shadow the people will find rest."¹⁶ How true the prophecy turned out to be ! "God has given you knowledge, intelligence and love; and he who has these qualities is best suited to carry on the mission of the darveshes", Baba Farid addressed to Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya when he appointed him as his spiritual successor.

Both Baba Farid and Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya, for their spiritual attainments, became legends in their lifetime.

It was Baba Farid's firm conviction that for the sake of name, fame and wealth, one should not take any risks. He would tell his *murids* (adherents) never ever to forget death. If you have committed a sin, do not feel proud of it. He would often mention to his *shagirds* (disciples) that improve your inner-self (*batin*) more than you improve your external-self (*zahir*). He would tell simple homely truths to people in Ajodhan who came to him for advices, such as, you must feel obliged to everyone but must not let others feel obliged to you; try to find ways of doing good to others; acquire knowledge through humility; show generosity to the righteous man; be careful of your enemies; if you want greatness associate with the down-trodden; if you have wealth do not forsake courage; be watchful of your own defects and deficiencies; if you want contentment, don't be jealous of others; do such work for the good of others which should remain alive even after your death.

When Nizamuddin Auliya, who became his disciple, appeared before the Baba for the first time, Baba advised him that if you want to please your opponents then you must ensure that each one must get his due. He also explained that one must exercise control over himself and generate a feeling of forgiving others.

According to Baba Farid the root cause of all the problems in the world is usurping someone else's rights. This act encourages enmity. He also explained that in every human being there are two elements, namely, passion (*nafs*) and heart (*dil*). Passion gives birth to enmity and encourages it whereas heart enables to forgive. If someone confronts you with passions, you should meet him with your heart. By doing this your opponent will be compelled to use his heart and, in this way, when heart meets heart, goodness prevails. He preached that, forsaking passions, one should always strive to use his heart which will generate a feeling of goodness and welfare for all mankind and, in this manner, evil can be eradicated from the world. These are some of the advices, lessons and words of wisdom spoken by the Baba.

HIS WRITINGS

There are four books, three in Persian prose and one of poetry (*Shaloks*) in Punjabi, credited to have been written by Baba Farid.¹⁷

These are :

1. ***Rahat-al-Qalub*** : His discourses and advices compiled and written by Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya.
2. ***Siraj-al-Auliya*** : His discourses and advices compiled and written by his son Shah Badar Diwan.
3. ***Fuwaid-al-Salkeen*** : Discourses of Khawaja Qutabuddin Bakhtiar Kaki compiled and written by Baba Farid.
4. ***Shalok Farid*** : Couplets in Punjabi compiled by the eleventh *Gaddi-nashin* of Baba Farid, Sheikh Behram Ibrahim Farid Sani. *Shalok* means *Shah-lok*, world or word of the kings. As all the Sufi saints were considered Shahs—givers of gifts, the verses composed by them came to be known as *Shaloks*. These *shaloks* were handed over to Guru Nanak, the First Pontiff of the Sikhs, by Sheikh Behram Ibrahim Farid Sani. About one hundred and thirty *Shaloks* and four *Shabads* are enshrined in Sri Guru Granth Sahib, the holy scripture of the Sikhs. These *Shaloks* are the first authentic poetic compositions in Punjabi which seem to have broken the monopolised charm of the classical languages. It is just possible that Baba Farid's contribution to the Punjabi language may have gone in vain; had Guru Nanak not given him due importance by collecting more than one hundred and thirty couplets (*Shaloks*) and four hymns (*Shabads*) from the *Gaddi-nashin* of Baba Farid of Pak Pattan which are now enshrined in Sri Guru Granth Sahib. Guru Nanak himself composed

poetry in Punjabi and his hymns numbering nearly one thousand are in Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

HIS LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF POETRY

Baba Farid had highest scholastic achievements to his credit in Arabic and Persian. Since he wanted to reach out to the masses in the Punjab, in order to preach his Sufistic ideology, he used simple and natural Punjabi language which was easily understandable. His language therefore comprises of various Punjabi dialects with prominence of Multani dialect and discernible influence of *Lehndi*.¹⁸ Though his poetry is natural, forceful, forth-right, and impressive, it lacks intensity of feeling which characterises the poetry of Sufi poets of later years such as Madholal Husain, also known as Shah Husain, and Bulleh Shah. His poetry is immensely expressive and easily comprehensible; it reflects the restlessness of his soul for the Divine Union. He is the first Sufi who replaced Persian, the language of the learned, by his mother-tongue, Punjabi, which won him great love of the people and set a new trend for the Sufis who followed him.

The highest merit that lies in Farid's poetic composition is the fact that he is among the first Muslim saints who composed verses in Punjabi and whose poetry has come down to us. He can, therefore, be considered as the pioneer of Punjabi Sufi poetry. His verses are in praise of the Lord, moral upliftment, Sufistic way of life and generate love of God and communal harmony.¹⁹

HIS POETRY

Sufi is of firm conviction that a patched garment and mean appearance humbles the heart which helps him in achieving salvation. Farid says—

پاڑ پٹولا درج کری کمبلاڑی پہر وی
جنی ویسی شاہوٹے سوئی ویسی کردی

पाड़ पटोला धज करी कमबलाड़ी पहरोई
जिन्नी वेसी शौऊ मिले सोई वेस करोई

*Par patola dhajj kari kambalari pahiroi,
Jinni wesi shau mile soi wes karoi.*

(Tear your clothes into tatters and wear instead a woollen blanket (*la bis'al-suf* - clad in wool, garb of all the Sufis); wear the dress by which union with God may be obtained.)

Sufi holds that ego is a hindrance in a man's search for God; if ego is conquered, man can enjoy the bounty of the Lord. Farid says —

فریدائیں نوں مار کے منج کرنیکی کر کے کٹ
بھرے خزانے رب دے جو بھاوے سولٹ

फरीदा ! मैं नू मारके मुजँ कर निक्की कर के कुट्ट
भरे खज़ाने रब दे जो भावे सो लुट्ट

*Farida ! main nun mar ke munj kar nikki kar ke kutt,
Bhare khazane rabb de jo bhawe so lutt.*²⁰

(Farid says, kill your ego and turn it into small shreds of fibre by beating it; out of the over-laden treasure of the Lord, you can grab as much as you can.)

Farid believes that it is the paramount duty of everyone to bow his head in obeisance to God. If anyone desists from performing this duty, he does not deserve to live. He says—

اٹھ فریدادھوساز صبح نماز گداز
جو سر سائیں نہ نویں سوسر کپ اُتار

उठ फरीदा वुजू साज़ सुबह नमाज़ गुदाज़
जो सिर साईं ना नीवे सो सिर कप उतार ।

*Uth farida wuzu saz subah namaz gudaz,
Jo sir sain na niven so sir kapp uttar.*²¹

(Get up Farid, do ablutions (*wuzu*) and offer morning prayers (*namaz*); the head which does not bow before the Lord deserves to be decapitated.)

Akhaans are very common in the Punjabi language and express ideas most vividly which are often employed appropriately, among others, by the Sufi poets to drive home a point, as for example, in the following couplet:

دیکھ فریدا جو تھیا شکر ہوئی دس
سائیں باجھوں آپنے ویدن کہئے کس

देख फरीदा जो थिया शक्कर होई विस
साई बाज़ाँ आपने वैदन कहिये किस ।

*Dekh farida jo thia shakkar hoyee wis,
Sain bajhon aapne weiden kahiye kis.*²²

(Look, Farid, what has happened? Sugar is turned into poison (in old age); without the Lord, to whom shall we tell our woes ?)

A life of simplicity and sincerity is advocated by the Sufis in order to reach the final goal of union with the Lord. In the following couplet, Farid exhorts all to live a life of simplicity, otherwise, he warns, you are doomed to suffer—

فریدا روٹی میری کاٹھ دی لاون میری بھکھ
جنہاں کھا دیاں چو پڑیاں سوئی سہن گے دکھ

फरीदा ! रोटी मेरी काठ दी लावन मेरी भुख
जिन्नाह खादियाँ चोपड़ियाँ सोई सहन गे दुख ।

*Farida ! roti meri kath di lavan meri bhukkh,
Jinhan khadian choparian soi sahan ge dukkh.*

(Farid says, my bread is of wood and satisfies my hunger; those who eat buttered bread will undergo suffering.)

Again he says —

رکھی مسکی کھا کے ٹھنڈا پانی پی
فریدا دیکھ پرائی چو پڑی نہ ترسانویں جی !

रखी सुकी खा के ठंडा पानी पी
फरीदा ! देख पराई चोपड़ी ना तरसावै जी ।

*Rukkhi sukki kha ke thanda pani pee,
Farida ! wekh parai chopari na tersawen jee.*²³

(Eat dry bread and drink cold water; Farid, by looking at other's buttered bread, don't let your heart desire it.)

Dust is considered among the lowliest elements which, according to Farid, should not be denigrated but held in high esteem and, if interpreted allegorically, all things high or low, which are the gifts bestowed by the Lord, should be respected. He has explained this well in the following lines —

فریدا خاک نہ نندھے خاکوں جیڈ نہ کوئے
جیوندیاں پیراں تالے مویاں اُپر ہوئے

फरीदा खाक ना निन्दिये खाकों जेड ना कोए
जयौं देऔं पैरौं तल्ले मोयौ ऊपर होए ।

*Farida ! khak na nindiye khakon jed na koe,
Jeundian pairan talle moyan uppar hoe.*²⁴

(Farid, revile not dust, there is nothing like it; while you live it remains under your feet, when dead it covers you.)

Anger weakens the body and spirit and must be renounced at any cost for higher spiritual attainments. Farid says,

فریدا بُرے دا بھلا کر غصہ من نہ ہنڈا پئے
دیہی روگ نہ لگ ای پلے سب کچھ پائیے

फरीदा, बुरे दा भला कर गुस्सा मन ना हन्डाईए
देही रोग ना लग ई पल्ले सब कुछ पाईए।

*Farida, bure da bhala kar gussa man na handaiye,
Dehi rog na lagg ee palle subh kujh paiye.*

(Farid, do good to the bad, and renounce anger from yourself; by keeping your body free from disease, you can gain everything.)

Farid spent some time at Hansi, in Hissar district, before settling down at Ajodhan (now Pak Pattan) in Montgomery district. While at Hansi, he composed verses in the local dialect and used similes and metaphors from the local cotton industry to make them easily comprehensible in order to reach out to the masses, as for example in the following poem—

دھن رے دھنیے اپنی دھن
 دھن رے دھنیے اپنی دھن
 پرانی دھنی کا پاپ نہ پُڻ
 تیری روٹی میں چار بنولے
 سب پہلے ان کو چُن
 روٹی کو چُن کے سوت بنا کے
 پاگ پیارے پی کی بن
 اچھی توجہ ہی دھنکی جائے
 سگری تانت بچے سن سن
 تیرا پیا تو مہا گنی ہے
 کر لے تو بھی کوئی گُن
 جو تو جا ہے ہر کو فریدا
 آنکھ کان کو کر لے سُن

धुन रे धुनिये अपनी धुन पराई धुनी का पाप ना पुन
 तेरी रुई मैं चार बनौले सब से पहले इन को चुन
 रुई को चुन के सूत बनाके पाग प्यारे पी की बुन
 अच्छी तो तब ही धुन्की जाए सिगरी तातँ बजे तुन तुन
 तेरा पिया तो महा गुणी है करले तू भी काई गुण
 जो तू चाहे हर को फ़रीदा
 आखँ कान को करले सुन्न ।

Dhunn re dhyniye apni dhunn parai dhunni ka paap na punn
Teri ruee mein char banaule sab se pehle in ko chunn
Ruee ko chunn ke soot banake paag piare pee ki bunn
Achhi to tab hi dhunki jae Sigri tant bajje tunn tunn
Tera pia to maha-guni hai kar le tu bhi koi gunn
Jo tu chahe har ko farida
*Aankh kaan ko kar le sunn.*²⁶

(Cotton carder (your soul), card (improve) yourself and don't commit the sin of carding others; in your cotton (self) there are four seeds : of Kam (sex), Karodh

(anger), *Lobh* (greed) and *Moh* (attachment), first of all pick them and get rid of them; after you have cleansed your cotton (self), spin it into yarn and weave that yarn into the fabric of love of your Beloved. Good weaving is done only when the yarn is properly twisted; your Beloved is All Virtuous, you should also earn some virtues; if you desire the Lord, O Farid ! eyes and ears (for concentration) must be made numb.)

The Sufis all over the world, particularly in the Punjab, associate black garments and black dresses with simplicity and humility, two of the stages through which the pilgrim (Sufi) passes through in his spiritual progress to reach the Lord. Farid says —

کالے منڈے کپڑے کالے منڈے ویس
گنہی بھریا میں پھراں لوک کہن درویش

फरीदा काले मँडे कपड़े काले मँडे वेस
गुनाही भरिया मैं फिराँ लोक कहन दरवेश

*Farida kale mende kapde kale mende wes,
Gunahi bharya main phiraan lok kahan darwesh.*²⁷

(Farid says black crumpled are my clothes and black crumpled are my dresses; full of sins, I roam around in the world and people call me a saint).

The old dictum "You should be kind even to the unkind" propagated by almost all the religions, such as Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism and others, has been well expounded by Farid in the following *shalok*—

فریدا جے تیں مارن مکیاں تنہاں نہ ماریں گھم
آپنے گھر جایے پیر تنہاں دے چم

फरीदा, जे तैं मारन मुकियाँ तिन्हँ ना मारीं घुम
आपने घर जाईए पैर तिन्हँ दे चुम ।

*Farida je tein maran mukkian tinhan na marin ghum
Apne ghar jaiye pair tinhan de chum.*²⁸

(Farid ! if men beat with their fists, beat them not in return; kiss their feet and go back home.)

This *shalok* is quite reminiscent of the Vaishnava legend, according to which Bhrigu kicked Vishnu while he was asleep. Vishnu woke up and massaged Bhrigu's foot saying that his hard body must have hurt his (Bhrigu's) foot. In order to reach out to the people at large, the prevalent legends and myths of diverse religions were freely used by the Sufis in their verses to make their ideas receptive and easily understandable.

Youth is considered a very precious period of one's life. Even this precious gift is nowhere near the love for the Lord, as Farid says —

جوبن جانده نہ ڈرن جیسو پریت نہ جانی
فریدا کیتی جوبن پریت بن سک گئے کملائی

जोबन जान्दे ना डरँ जेसो प्रीत ना जाई
फरीदा, कीती जोबन प्रीत बिन सुक गए कुमलाई ।

Joban jaande na daran jeyso preet na jayee;
Farida kiti joban preet bin suk gaye kumlayee.

(I am not afraid of my youth being dissolved in pining for my Master in love, provided my love is maintained, because, I know, without Love's fulfilment, so many youths have been destroyed.)

In other words, what is paramount for Farid is the Love of the Lord and not his own self or the period of his youth.

In the following *shalok*, Farid has given due importance to *Amritvela*, that is, pre-dawn, which is considered the best time for remembering the Lord and observing His majesty—

فریدا بچل رات نہ جاگیوں جیواندلیو مویو
جے تیں رب و ساریاتے رب نہ و ساریو

फरीदा ! पिछल रात ना जागयों जीवान्दयो मीयो
जे तैं रब विसारेया ते रब ना विसारेयो ।

*Farida ! pichhal raat na jagion jeevandio moyeo
Je tain rabb visaria te rabb na visaryeo.*

(O Farid ! If you do not wake up in the later part of the night (before dawn) for your Lord, you will always be in anguish, even if you forgot the Lord, He cannot forget you.)

God lives in the heart of every human being. Farid exhorts every one to realise Him in your heart instead of roaming around -

فرید! جنگل جنگل کیا بھویں ون کنڈا مورے
واسی رب حیا لے جنگل کیا ڈھونڈے

फरीदा जंगल जंगल क्या भवें वन कन्डा मोरे
वासी रब हियालिये जंगल क्या दून्डे ।

*Farida ! jangal jangal kia bhawen van kanda more
Vasi rab hialiye jangal kia ddhoondhe.*

(O Farid ! Why are you wandering in the jungles distrubing the plants and thorns ? God lives in your heart, what are you looking for in the jungle ?)

Farid explains the futility of building grand mansions, palaces and other memorials in the following couplet -

فرید! کوٹے مندپ ماڑیاں اسار دے دی گئے
کوڑا سودا کر گئے گوری آئے پیئے

फरीदा ! कोठे मंडप माड़ियाँ उसारदे भी गए
कूड़ा सौदा कर गए गोरी आए पए ।

*Farida ! kothe mandap marian usarde bhi gaye;
Koora sauda kar gaye gori aye paye.*

(O Farid ! Those who built vast palatial mansions finally left the world; they also indulged in false bargains and found their place in the graves.)

In the following *shabad*, Farid has beautifully explained that when there

is time for men to prepare themselves to face the future, they do not do so; thereafter they repent to no avail.

بیڑا باندھ نہ ساکیو بندھن کی بیلا
بھر سरोवर جب اچھلے تب ترن دو ہلا

बेड़ा बंध ना साकयो बँधन की बेला
भर सरोवर जब उछले तब तरन दो हेला

*Bera bandh na saakeo bandhan ki bela
Bhar sarovar jab uchhalle tab taran do hela.*

(When there was time for you to tackle your boat, you did not do it; now in the lake swollen with tempest, how will your boat float across the lake to the other bank?)

In this *shabad*, the metaphor of lake is given for the life after death and the time before the ensuing rains is the life which one spends in this world. Baba Farid exhorts that take full advantage of this life to improve and prepare yourself to meet the end. Such moral lessons given by Baba Farid have greatly appealed to the general public.

In the following couplet, Farid has explicitly described the frailty of human nature to temptation :

فریدا ! کنی مصلا، صوف گلے، دل کا تی، گر ورات
باہر دتے چا نناں دے اندھیاری رات

फरीदा ! कन्नी मुस्सला, सूफ गले, दिल काती, गुड़ वात
बाहर दिस्से चान नाँ दिले अन्धीयारी रात ।

*Farida : Kanni mussalla, suf galle, dil kati, gur waat
Bahar disse chan nan dile andhiari raat.*

(Farid : those who have prayer carpet on their shoulders, wool round their neck, ill-will in the heart and sweet mouth, are like those who have illumination outside but their hearts have the pitch darkness of the night.)

In his simple, easily comprehensible compositions, Baba Farid preaches that we should not be buried in the dust of mundane things and sensual pleasures of this world and die without achieving anything in this mortal existence. His philosophy fundamentally hinges on love of God, internal mental peace, harmony, moral upliftment and a simple life bordering on poverty. Like all other Sufis before him, he believes that poverty (*faqr*) brings oneself close to the Ultimate Truth. He exhorts people to follow the path of righteousness and morality and not to indulge in false pleasures which only multiply unhappiness. He asserts that true happiness is to be found only in self-realisation and not in the material things of this evanescent world.

According to Baba Farid "forgiveness" generates compassion and compassion encourages the concepts of peace, tranquillity, humility and co-operation in men and checks the tendency of men for supremacy over other fellow-men. He urges men to forgive even the wrong-doers. He believes in the preventive or deterrent theory of punishment. This he does with a view to reforming the sinners. In their quest for eternal peace and happiness, men must develop these *gunas* (attributes), and only then can they attain communion with God and live in that eternal tranquil state of Supreme Sublime Bliss.

Baba Farid has given us a vision of truth, impressive and profound, the realisation of our goal - the Divinity of God.

NOTES AND REFFERENCES

1. Maula Baksh Kushta, *Punjabi Shairan da Tazkira* (Punjabi in Urdu script).
2. Ibid., p. 33. Qazi Jamaluddin was the son of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi's sister.
3. Ibid., p. 33.
4. Shamim Chowdhury, *Punjabi Adab-o-Tarikh* (in Urdu), p. 47.
5. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
6. Ibid., p. 34.
7. Ibid., p. 34.
8. Ibid., p. 34.
9. Ibid., p. 36.
10. Ibid., p. 36.
11. Ibid., p. 34.

12. Ibid., p. 35.
13. Ibid., p. 35.
14. Nizami, K. A., *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid*, pp. 24-25.
15. Mohd. Noor Nabi, *Development of Muslim Thought in India*, p. 22.
16. Nizami, K. A., op. cit., pp. 24-25.
17. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., pp 36-37.
18. *Lehndi* is a dialect of West Punjab which is *Manjhi* admixed with *Multani* dialect and is spoken in Jhang district.
19. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 38.
20. Shamim Chowdhury, op. cit., p. 49.
21. Ibid., p. 49.
22. Ibid., p. 50.
23. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 38.
24. Shamim Chowdhury, op. cit., p. 49.
25. Ibid., p. 50.
26. Annual 1958 issue of monthly YADGAR, Lahore. (Urdu).
27. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 38.
28. Shamim Chowdhury, op. cit., p. 49.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

MADHO LAL HUSAIN

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

MAZDHO TAL NUSAIN

MADHO LAL HUSAIN

AN UNUSUAL SUFI OF THE PUNJAB

(1539—1594 A.D.)

Punjab came under the Muslim domination from the Eleventh Century A.D., and continued to remain so until the end of the Eighteenth Century A.D., when Maharaja Ranjit Singh wrested the power and became King of vast dominions. In the wake of Muslim conquest, from the Thirteenth Century onwards, the Punjab was providentially endowed with a good crop of Sufis of extraordinary perception who, through the preachings of their principal tenets, made attempts to create friendly feelings by harmonising opposing systems of faiths and were responsible for maintaining communal harmony in the troublous times. They sang about the glory of the Lord in the Punjabi dialect in order to reach out to the masses and, in this process, enriched the Punjabi language considerably. Among these Sufis there was an unusual Sufi, by the name of Husain, who, later on, became Madho Lal Husain and also came to be known as Shah Husain.

Husain was born in 1539 A.D., at Lahore, to Sheikh Usman.¹ In fact, Husain's great-grandfather Kuljas Rai was converted to Islam in the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. He belonged to Dhudi clan of Rajputs who, according to Sir Denzal Abbotson, were a branch of Panwar clan of Rajputs mostly inhabiting the banks of river Sutlej and were spread out in the erstwhile districts of Lahore, Montgomery and Multan. In order to make a living, father of Husain, Sheikh Usman, who was known as Nau-Sheikh² (new-Sheikh), because of recent conversion to Islam, gave up his sword for the handloom and became a weaver (*Julaha*).

Husain says —

ناؤں حسینا تے ذات جلاہ
گالیاں دیندیاں تانیاں والیاں

नाओ हुसैना ते ज़ात जुलाहा

गालियाँ देन्दियाँ तानियाँ वालियाँ

Naun husaina te zat julaha

Gaalian dendian tanian walian

(Name is Husain and by profession I am a weaver;
my critics haul invectives upon me).

Husain never learnt this trade, but as his father was engaged in this industry, it prompted Fard Faqir (a later Sufi and a Punjabi poet of renown) to say in *Kasab-Nama Bafindgan*³ as follows :

پراس کہے دے دنج بہت عالم فاضل ہوئے
پر شاہ حسین کبیر جو آئے درگاہ جاکھلوائے

पर इस कसबे दे विच बहुत आलम फ़ाज़ल होए

पर शाह हुसैन कबीर जो आए दरगाह जा खुलवाए।

Par is kasabe de wich bahute alam fazal hoe

Par shah husain kabir jo aye dargah ja khaloae.

(Though in this profession (of weaving) many learned ones had been, Shah Husain and Kabir who came (in this profession) went and had the door (to God) opened.)

In those days, in the large mosque, near the Taksali Gate at Lahore, Maulavi Abu Bakr used to teach the young boys. Sheikh Usman put Husain at a tender age under the charge of Maulavi Abu Bakr. At the age of ten, Husain had memorised the Holy Quran and became a *hafiz*. Then Sheikh Bahlol a Sufi of renown of Chiniot in Jhang district, who had learnt the doctrine of *fana* (gnosis) from a Sufi of Koh-Punj-Shir, came to Lahore and made Husain his disciple.⁴ After a few years, Sheikh Bahlol returned to Chiniot. Before returning to Chiniot, Sheikh Bahlol put Husain to continue his study of Sufi practices at the shrine of Ali

Makhdum Hujwiri, commonly known as Data Ganj Baksh, in Lahore. For twelve long years Husain served at the shrine and followed strict Quranic discipline.⁵ It is said that during this period, he spent many a night in a standing posture in contemplation in the river Ravi repeating Quranic *ayats*. He would spend his days and nights either reciting Quranic verses in the nearby mosque or by the banks of the river Ravi. At the age of twentysix, he left the shrine of Data Ganj Baksh and came under the tutelage of Sa'dullah, a learned scholar and a Sufi of his time, with whom he read many a book on Sufism.⁶ Some time after this, on one occasion, Sa'dullah, after the usual recitation of the Holy Quran with his students, said, "This world is nothing but a play-ground." Husain was so struck by this statement that he came out of the house of his tutor dancing as he thought he had found the secret of God. Happy at his success, in a trance-like condition, Husain is said to have thrown in the nearby well the Quran which he had in his hand but his co-students were simply enraged at this act of heresy. Husain thereupon ordered the book to come out. It came out and, to the surprise of his co-students, it was as dry as before. Hereafter Husain, discarding all rules and regulations, began to dance, sing, and drink.⁷ He became a mystic at the age of thirtysix.

Husain identified the spiritual state of a *faqir* (wandering mendicant) with absolute poverty and moral and spiritual perfection which he attained and lived upto the dictum of Jami of Iran who said : "The Sufi is he whom God has chosen (*istafa*) for Himself, out of love, and the *faqir* is he who purifies himself in his poverty in the hope of drawing near to God." It was the general belief of the *faqirs* that to possess anything means to be possessed by it. The true *faqir* needs no possession except God. For Husain the transience of life was an overwhelming sentiment. He was so deeply absorbed in the spiritual ecstasy of God unmindful of everything else that people thought him to have gone mad. In the process, he offended the orthodox *Ulema* who openly criticised him and his practices.

The excesses of Husain became scandalous and reached the ear of his mentor, Shah Bahlol, at Chiniot. The Sheikh was very upset and came

to Lahore to see the things for himself. His talks, discussions and discourses with his disciple convinced him of Husain's saintliness and he went back satisfied to his native place.⁸

Husain was very fond of dancing and singing and started wearing red dress and came to be known as Lal Husain or Husain the Red. He shaved clean his moustache and beard. The orthodox Muslims were outraged and for his neglect of the religious duties wanted him to be punished but Husain came out of this ordeal by pointing out to them their own neglect of religious duties.⁹ Lal Husain was fortunate that he was born, brought up and lived during the benign reigns of Akbar the Great and his son and successor Jahangir whose liberal out-look and fondness for Sufis was proverbial. According to the writings of Prince Dara Shikoh, it would appear that Akbar knew Husain well. Prince Salim (later Emperor Jahangir), who spent major part of his adolescence and youth at Lahore, got so attached to Husain that he appointed an officer, Bahar Khan, to record his daily doings and report the same to the prince for his information. The ladies of Harem and many courtiers of the Mughal court at Lahore believed in the supernatural powers of the saint and accordingly venerated him. The records of Bahar Khan, together with the sayings of the saint, were subsequently compiled and named *Baharia* which are full of incidents relating to the supernatural and miraculous powers of the saint.¹⁰

Since Husain was very fond of dancing and singing he would freely mix in the company of dancers and musicians and roam around with them. One day while he was roaming across the river Ravi towards Shahdara, he saw a very handsome youth, a Brahmin boy by the name of Madho, astride his horse coming from the opposite direction. At first sight he became absolutely enamoured of the boy.¹¹ Husain started preaching his Sufistic ideology in public at Shahdara with a view to attract the boy. In due course of time, the boy started frequenting these religious seances and showed keen interest in the teachings of Husain. The saint soon became attached to the handsome youth.¹² This attachment developed so much and so rapidly that, if any day Madho failed to come, Husain would walk down to the boy's house. This kind of attachment was not

liked by the parents of the boy who tried their utmost to dissuade their son from meeting Husain but to no avail. Meantime Madho also developed love for the saint and as the Punjabi saying goes,

کہندا عشق دی ذات صفات ناہیں
ناہیں عاشقاں دا مذہب دین رانی

कहन्दा इश्क दी ज़ात सफ़ात नाहीं
नाहीं आशक़ा दा मज़हब दीन रानी

Kahinda ishq di zat safat nahin
Nahin aashqaan da mazhab din rani.

((He) says for love exists no race and qualities; nor
have lovers religion and creed, O Queen.)

Both were entangled in lovers web.

Desirous of separating the Sufi from their boy, the parents of the boy thought of taking their child to the Ganges at Hardwar on a certain festival day.¹³ According to legend, when Madho informed the saint of his impending departure, the saint was much distressed and beseeched the boy not to go and also promised him that, on the appointed day, Madho will have bath in the Ganges in the company of his parents. Madho stubbornly refused to accompany his parents on pilgrimage, who proceeded without the boy to Hardwar. On the appointed day, the saint asked the boy to put his foot on the feet of the saint and shut his eyes. When the boy did so, he found himself on the banks of the river Ganges at Hardwar along with his parents. He took bath in their company. When the saint asked the boy to open his eyes, Madho discovered he was back at Shahdara.¹⁴ On their return, the parents confirmed their son's statement that he bathed with them on the appointed day. This miracle so impressed Madho that he started living with the saint like his permanent companion.

According to another legend, Husain's attachment to Madho was disagreeable to the parents who strongly disapproved of it. But Husain, unmindful of all this, would still go to the boy's house where he was prevented from visiting him. Very often he would be told by the parents that Madho was not there and the saint would return disappointed. This

became a regular feature. However, one day when he had been refused permission to see the boy, Husain returned and again walked down to the boy's house where he accosted people wailing and weeping. On enquiry, the saint was told that Madho had died. The saint laughed aloud and walking to the listless body of Madho shouted, "Get up Madho, why do you sleep at this hour? Get up and see I am waiting for you". Upon this Madho jumped up and followed Husain out of his parents house never to return again.¹⁵

Both the above versions are legendary and, perhaps, of later origin. What must have happened was that Madho, convinced of Husain's saintliness, was attached to him in the same manner as the saint was to Madho. Such behaviour must have offended the conservative Hindus of the time who excommunicated and turned him out of their fold. This left no other choice to Madho but to live with his master as friend and disciple and, in due course of time, he got converted to Islam. Madho and Lal Husain formed a unique corporate personality so much so that Madho's name came to be prefixed to that of the saint and jointly they became MADHO LAL HUSAIN who, to this day, are known by this name. The love of Husain for Madho was unique and he did all that lay within his power to please the boy. Husain indulged in celebrating *Holi*, the Hindu festival of colours in the traditional manner and also celebrated *Basant* festival, harbinger of the spring season, in order to please the boy. These festivals are celebrated by the adherents of the saint at Lahore to this day.

Many miracles are attributed to Husain some among them are the following. Once a seller of sweet-melons (*خربوزه* *kharbuzas*) had to attend to an emergency when he spotted Husain close by and requested him to tend to his business for the short while during the former's absence. The saint agreed to do this. While Husain was tending to the business of the sweet-melon seller, he shouted :

ٹکے ٹکے خربوزہ نال پُتر

टके टके खरबूजा नाल पुत्र

Takke takke kharbuza nal puttār

(Take away sweetmelon for two pice each and a son). It is said that all those who bought melons from the august hands of the saint were, in due course, blessed with sons.¹⁶

Sheikh Abdul Hakim Sialkoti has written that once a love-lorn man visited the saint and said that he had fallen in love with a beautiful woman but she did not care for him. The saint advised the man that if he repeated the name of the village of the woman for a few days, his wish would be fulfilled. It is said that the devotee did as told and in a few days, to the astonishment of the lover, his beloved literally fell on his feet.¹⁷

Husain died in 1594 A.D., at the age of fiftyfive. The first thirtysix years of his life he spent in strict discipline, practices and code of his Sufi order (*Silsila*) of the Qadariya who were famous for their philosophic studies, musical sessions, *sama* and *deryesh* dances; and the remainder nineteen years as an "intoxicated" Sufi. Husain, like the Persian Sufis, revealed himself to be an intoxicated Sufi, intoxicated with the love of the Beloved. He indulged in wine and other intoxicants, and propably due to this, he died at fiftyfive, comparatively early age for a saint. He died at Shahdara where he was buried. A few years later, as was predicted by the saint, the grave was swept away by the flooding of the river Ravi. Madho exhumed the corpse and carried it to Baghbanpura where it was buried with pompous formalities. The mausoleum is now situated near the famous Shalimar Gardens at Lahore.

Madho inherited the mantle of the saint and remained *Sajjada-nashin* for the next thirtyfive years after the death of Husain. On the death of Madho his remains were also laid alongside the grave of his dear Husain.¹⁸

Latif, in *History of Lahore* (p. 146), describes the tomb as follows -

"The tomb is situated north of the village of Baghbanpura. There are signs of two tombs on a high platform, one of Madho and the other of Lal Husain, the actual tombs being in an underground chamber. This platform is surrounded by a wall with a gateway to the South. Bmtween the platform

and the surrounding wall is a space left for the devotees to go round, — the platform being lined on all sides with lattice-work of red stone. North of the enclosure is a tower in which is reverentially kept the impression of the prophet's feet (*Qadam-i-Rasul*) and to the west is a mosque. The mosque was constructed by Moran a Muhammadan wife of Ranjit Singh."

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, on the occasion of Basant festival, dressed in yellow silk robes accompanied by his body-guards consisting of tall beautiful Kashmiri women, all dressed in yellow silks, the colour associated with *Basant* festival, used to visit the mausoleum and partake in the festivities in the traditional manner.¹⁹

HUSAIN'S SUFISM

A Sufi, who was guided by the will of God, passed through the various stages (*maqamat*) and the states (*ahwal*) of the spiritual pilgrimage, encountered many proofs of special relationship in which he stood to God. The ideal of the Sufi was to reach the highest goal. This goal could be the realisation of highest Truth, Goodness and Beauty; it could be conquering the mind and desires and acquiring some spiritual powers through concentration; but for most of the Sufis the goal was to find God in all His creation and thus attain union with Him. This union or annihilation in God was to be fully achieved after death, but in very rare cases it could be achieved while living. A Sufi hoped to win a glimpse of immortality in this mortal life by passing away from self فنا (*fana*) into the consciousness of survival in God بقا (*baqa*).²⁰ This was the ideal of Punjabi Sufis.

Husain's Sufism was of a peculiar type not common to other Sufis. In his Sufistic ideas and beliefs he was definitely more Punjabi than anything else, but in his daily life he seems to have followed the practices of Persian Sufis of yore and here he greatly differed from the other Punjabi Sufis.

The first and foremost trait which he followed of Persian Sufis was his addiction to wine. In his daily life of a Sufi, he would drink wine and dance in the wine-house. When drunk, he would dance, sing his own poetic compositions and, in that ecstatic mood, he would preach to the crowds who gathered round him.²¹ This was a deviation from the accepted norm of the Punjabi Sufis. The Punjabi Sufi particularly lived a simple life and avoided wine, but some of the Sufis of Persia were often pleasure loving people and indulged in drinking. They would have the taste of the material wine and remain in the ecstatic state which for them had a symbolic meaning in their poetry. This was known as Sufism of the 'intoxicated' type strongly opposed by the orthodox *Ulema*.

The second obvious Persian trait of Husain was his love of a youth. He was enamoured of Madho. This was repugnant to the Punjabi concept of divine love. According to Punjabi concept, a mystic does not require a semblance to attain Divine Beloved; he relies either on divine grace or on his own efforts of spiritual discipline to achieve his objective of union with the Lord.²² The idea of loving a youth was originally Greek who held that 'youth love' was the only form of love worthy of a noble soul. This was borrowed by the Persians from the Greeks and, later on, many Muslims of Islamic countries adopted it. Some Sufis held that 'youth love' was practised for the following, among other, reasons —

- a) A young man is physically more attractive and beautiful than a woman and he inspires the Sufi better in the description of the Beloved Lord.
- b) Because of man's natural instinct to have a companion in life, he takes a pleasing youth on whom he showers his love and kindness and in whom he confides. Alternatively, if he chose a woman companion, he would indulge in lust; therefore the Sufi abhorred the idea of having a woman as companion.
- c) As God has no feminine attributes and to describe Him and constantly think of Him, a perfect youth as a constant companion is considered most desirable.

Many critics, who oppose Sufism of the type of Husain, are of the opinion that this love of a Sufi for a youth was nothing but only to satisfy his

animal instinct. But, from his poetry and whatever account has come down to us, we do not find any immoral flaw in Lal Husain's love for Madho. It had more moral than religious significance because it was free from selfish desire; therefore more elevating in the attainment of Sufistic ideal of reaching the Beloved Lord.

Husain has left no other poetic work except a number of *Kafis* of a highly mystic type in which peculiarity of his character is simply reflected. He believes in *fana* yet does not seem to accept the doctrine of *Ana'l Haqq*, which is contradictory. He seems to realise the presence of his Beloved everywhere but he could not see Him and thus have union with Him in his mortal life. It is possible that his excessive love for Madho precluded him from reaching those heights which Bulleh Shah, the greatest Punjabi Sufi, achieved in his life-time. Husain, as is clear from his *Kafis*, lived a life craving till the end in the hope of meeting his Beloved and having union with Him.

Madho Lal Husain was held in great respect by all the people. Even Hindus, who had turned Madho out of their fold, could not master their credulous beliefs in the super-natural miracle-performing powers of the saint and held him in high regard as much as the Muslims. He appears to have had friendships among the holy men of his time. He met Guru Arjan Devji, the Fifth Pontiff of the Sikhs, whenever he came to Lahore. He was an intimate friend of Chhajju Bhagat, a devout Hindu, to whom is attributed the popular Punjabi *akhaan* :

جو مکھ مجھ دے جو بارے نہ بخ زنجارے

जो सुख छजू दे चौबार ना बलख ना बुखारे

Jo sukh Chhajju de chaubare, na bulkh na bukhare

which, literally, means that the pleasure which you find at Chhajju's place, you don't find either at Bulkh or at Bukhara; and, if interpreted allegorically, it would mean that : the pleasure which you find at your home, you do not find anywhere else.

It was Chhajju Bhagat who, according to tradition, called Lal Husain as **SHAH HUSAIN** (bestower of gifts) for the first time after Husain, reportedly, brought dead Madho to life. From then onwards, the saint was known

as Shah Husain by his followers and he also used this nomenclature in his *Kafis*.

KAFIS OF HUSAIN

Over one hundred fifty *kafis*²³ of Madho Lal Husain have survived. These can be divided into two parts, namely, *Kafis* composed soon after the revelation came to him at the place of Sa'dullah, and after he was declared Shah Husain by Chhajju Bhagat.

The language used in Husain's *Kafis* is simple Punjabi with profusion of Persian words; it is down to earth and excels in expression of thought. In its effectiveness, it is better than the language of Baba Farid because it is smoother in flow, the similes are more relevant and words are more effective and expressive. If compared to the poetry of Bulleh Shah, the greatest Sufi poet of the Punjab, Husain's poetry in content and substance certainly falls much short of it because it is not as saturated with Punjabi thought and is not as expressive and effective as Bulleh Shah's. One thing we gather from his verse is that he was an earnest seeker after God and was persuaded of the truth of Sufi doctrines by the condition of the world around him. The chief merit in Husain's poetry lies in the fact that it is highly pathetic, touches the heart and creates a mystic feeling in the reader and the listener.

Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana is credited to have first published *Kafis* of Husain in Urdu. A few of the couplets from some of these *Kafis* are given here -

چھوڑ تکر پکر حلیمی کو کہیں دانا ہیں
کہے حسین فقیر نماں ہر دم سائیں سائیں

छोड़ तक्कबर पकड़ हलीमी को कहीं दा नाहीं
कहे हुसैन फकीर नुमाना हर दम साईं साईं

*Chhor takkabur pakar halimi ko kahin da nahin,
Kahe husain faqir numana har dam sain sain.*

(Forsake pride and submit to humility, otherwise you will be nowhere. Says Husain, innocent *faqir*, every moment and breath Sain Sain (God).

Husain had firm conviction that everything must be left to the Will of God. And he says -

ساجن دے ہتھ دور اسا دی ساجن دی گڑھی
اس ویلے نوں بچھوتاں سیں جد جا پوسن وچ کھڑی

साजन दे हथ डोर असादी मैं साजन दी गुड़ी
इस वेले नू पछौताँ सैं जद जा पौसन विच खुड़ी

*Sajan de hath dor asadi mein sajan di guddi
Is wele nun pachhautan sein jud ja paisein wich khuddi.*

(In the hands of my friend (God) is my string and I am His kite. One regrets only when one falls into a gorge, which means that leave everything to the Will of God, otherwise, when the end comes, one feels sorry.)

Husain did not believe in the theory of transmigration of Soul. He says-

اساں بھڑ نہ دُنیا آوناں!
سوئی کم وچار کے کرئیے جی جاں تے انت نہیں پچھتاوناں
کہے شاہ حسین سنائے کے اساں خاک دے وچ سماوناں

असाँ भुड़ ना दुनिया आवनाँ
सोई कम विचार के करिये जी जाँ ता अतँ नहीं पछतावनाँ
वहे शाह हुसैन सुनायके असाँ खाक दे विच समावनाँ

*Asan bhur na duniya awanan
Sei kam wihar ke kariye ji jan ant nahin pachhtawana,
Kahe shah husain sunaiyeke asan khak de wich samawana.*

(We have not to come back in this world again. Whatever work we do, we should do with careful aforethought so that we don't have to regret at the end. Says Shah Husain loudly that (eventually) we have to submerge in dust.)

Husain believed in the theory of *Karma* which, strictly speaking, is alien to Sufism. He believed in this theory on a rational Punjabi basis, as -

دُنیا توں مر جاناں دت نہ آوناں
جو کج کیتا بُرا بھلاتے کیتا اپنا پاوناں

दुनियाँ तो मर जावना वत ना आवनाँ
जो कुज कीता बुरा भला ते कीता अपना पावना

*Duniyan to mar jawana vatt na awanan,
Jo kujh kita bura bhala te kita apna pawan.*

(From the world one parts as dead not to return again; whatever actions are wrought, right or wrong, according to them he shall obtain.)

He was so convinced of the theory of good *karmas* that many of his *Kafis* are composed to express that belief. He says :

تاریں سائیں رباوے میں اوگن ہاری
سب سیان گن و ننتیاں۔ تاریں سائیں رباوے میں اوگن ہاری
بھیجی سی جس بات نوں پیاری سی سوئی نہیں بات بساری
رل مل سیان داج رنگا یا پیاری سی میں رہی کنوا ری
میں سائیں تے پر بت ڈر دے پیاری ری میں کون و چاری
کہے حسین سہیلیونی علماں باجھ خواری

तारीँ साइँ रब्बा वे मैं औगुण हारी
सब सईयाँ गुणवनतियाँ तारी साइँ रब्बा वे मैं औगुण हारी
भेजी सी जिस बात नू प्यारी सी सोई मैं बात बिसारी
रल मिल सईयाँ दाज रगाँया प्यारी री मैं रही कुवारी
मैं साइँ ते परबत डर दे प्यारी री मैं कौन विचारी
कहे हुसैन सहेलियो अमलाँ बाझ खवारी ।

*Tarin sain rabba we mein augan hari,
Sabh saiyan gunwantian, tarin sain rabba we mein augan hari.
Bheji si jis bat nun piari si soi mein baat bisari,
Ral mil saiyan daj rangaya piari ri mein rahi kuari,
Mein sain te parbat dar de, piari ri mein kaun wichari,
Kahe husain sahelio ni amlaan bajh khuari !*

(Save, O master God, I am full of faults; all friends possess qualities (good *Karmas*), save me, I am full of faults. The purpose for which (I) was sent, O dear, that alone I ignored; gathering together my friends, we had the brides' trousseaux dyed (for marriage—union with the Beloved); but I am left unmarried (for not possessing the dowry of good *karmas*). The mountains are afraid of my master, what am I ? Husain says, O friends, without good qualities there is but disaster.)

According to L. Rama Krinhna, in *Les Sikhs and Panjabi Sufi Poets*, Husain believed in *Sansara* which he seems to have borrowed from Sikhism, religion founded by Guru Nanak Dev in the Fifteenth Century.²⁴ Guru Nanak Dev had endeavoured to bring *Sansara* to the state of a science and professed that the wheel of *Sansara* contained eightyfour thousand species of life, each of which in turn possessed hundreds and thousands of others. It must be mentioned that this again was a fall-out of Hindu beliefs and theory of *Karma* according to which a man can be born again as man, or go higher or lower in the scale as his actions permit. It is further held that a soul can come back into the same life if his *Karmas* (actions) allow that. Husain, no doubt, appears to have had a rudimentary knowledge of this but he failed to have a clear grasp of it and did not fully subscribe to it. His idea is vague and confused as he says :

وت نہیں آؤناں بھولے مائیں
اے واری ویلا اے واری دا
ایس جو پڑ دے چوراسی خانے
جگ و جھاڑا مل چوٹاں کھانڈے
کی جاناں کی پوسی دا !

वत नहीं आवना भोलिये माए
एह वारी वेला एह वारी दा
इस चौपड़ दे चौरासी खाने

जग विछोड़ा मिल चोटों खान्दे
की जानों की पौसी दा

*Vatt nahin awana bholiey ma ai
Eh wari wela eh wari da !
Is chaupad de chaurasi khane
Jug wichhode mil chotan khande
Ki janan ki pausi da !!*

(Soul) has not to come again (as human being), O innocent mother. This present life is only for this turn. This chess-board (*Sansara*) comprises eightyfour squares (species); once separated after passing through (eightyfour species) Union is obtained (with God or *moksh* is obtained); what do I know that which (soul) obtains (after death in present life) ?

Without full comprehension of the theory, it seems Husain used the simile as was, perhaps, commonly believed and understood at that time.

Husain explained the reason of his ecstatic dancing which was against the injunctions of the Holy Quran. He says —

शक किया बे शकी ہوئی تان میں اوگن نجی ہاں
جے شاہو نال میں جھمر پاواں سدا سہاگن سچی ہاں
جھوٹے دام نہ کالا ہویا عاشق دی گل سچی ہے
شک گیا لیے شکی ہوئی تان میں اوگن نجی ہاں

शक गया बेशक्की होई तौ मैं ओगण नच्ची हौं
जे शाहू नाल मैं झुम्मर पावाँ सदा सुहागन सच्ची हौं
झूटे दा मुहँ काला होया आशक दी गल सच्ची है
शक गया बेशक्की होई तौ मैं ओगण नच्ची हौं !

*Shak gaya beshakki hoi tan mein augan nachchi han,
Je shahu nal mein jhumar pawan sada suhagan²⁵ sachchi han !
Jhuthe da munh kala hoya ashaq di gall sachchi hai
Shak gaya beshakki hoi tan mein augan nachchi han !²⁶*

(The doubt has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance. If I play (thus) with the Beloved I am ever a happy woman. The liar's face (he who accused) has been blackened and the lover's statement has been proved true; because the doubt has vanished and doubtlessness is established, therefore I, devoid of qualities, dance.)

Husain realized the presence of God in all creation and relies on the Almighty and says —

ربا میسر حال دا محرم توں
اندر توں باہر توں روم روم وچ توں
توہی تاناں توہی باناں سبھ کچھ میرا توں
کہے حسین فقیر سائیں دا میں ناہیں سبھ توں

रब्बा मेरे हाल दा मोहरम तूँ
अन्दर तूँ बाहर तूँ रोम रोम विच तूँ !
तू ही तानाँ तू ही बानाँ सभ कुज मेरा तूँ
कहे हुसैन फकीर साईँ दा मैं नाहीं सभ तूँ !!

Rabba mere hal da mohram tun
Andar tun bahar tun rom rom wich tun !
Tuhi tana tu hi bana sab kujh mera tun
Kahe husain faqir sain da mein nahin sabh tun !!

(God is the knower of my condition. Inside Thou outside Thou; Thou art in everything; Thou art warp and Thou art weft, in everything of mine art Thou. Says Husain, God's *faqir*, I am nothing Thou art everything.)

All through his life Husain craved for a union with the Lord and says —

ساجن تکرے رو سترے موبے آدر کرے نہ کوئے
دُر در کرن سہلیاں میں تر تر تاکوں توئے

साजन तुमरे रोसड़े मोहे आदर करे ना कोए
दुर दुर करन सहेलियाँ मैं तुर तुर ताकूँ तोए !

*Sajan tumre rosade mohe adar kare na koe
Dur dur karan sahelian mein tur tur takun toe.*

(Since you (God) are annoyed with me no one respects me; my friends avoid me and I continuously look upto you.)

Here is a *Kafi* in which Husain describes emphatically the uselessness of false pride and outward cosmetic decoration and ornamentation of the human body—

اوکیہ آکر آکر چلناں
کھائے خوراकाں ते پہن پوشاकाں کیہ حم واکبر المپاں
سادھے تن ہتھ ملک تساد اکیوں جوہ پرائی ملناں
کہے حسین فقیر سائیں دا انت خاک وینج رلناں

ओह क्या आकड़ आकड़ चलना ।

खाए खोराकाँ ते पहन पोशाकाँ क्या जम दा बकरा पलनाँ
साडे तिन हथ मिल्क तुसाडा क्यौं जूह पराई मलनाँ
कहे हूसैन फकीर साईं दा अन्त खाक विच रलनाँ

Oh kiah aakar aakar chalna !

*Khae khorakan te pehan poshakan kiah jum da bakra palnan
Sade tin hath milk tusada kiun juh parai malnan
Kahe husain faqir sain da ant khak wich ralnan.*

(Why must one walk with false pride ? Eating food and wearing clothes rearing like the sacrificial goat; in (God's) hands is everything Who controls it; says Husain, God's *faqir*, in the end (every one) is mixed with dust.)

The Sufi idea that life is ephemeral and uncertain everything else is false in this world only the name of the Lord is eternal; this has been explained well by Husain in the following *Kafis* —

پیارے لال کیا بھر دا سا دم دا
اڈیا بھور تھیا پردیسی اگے راہ آگم دا
کوڑی دنیا کوڑ پھار جیوں موتی شبنم دا

प्यारे लाल क्या भरवासा दम दा !

ऊडिया भौर थया, परदेसी अगगे राह आगम दा
कूड़ी दुनियाँ कूड़ पसारा ज्यों मोती शबनम दा ।

Piara lal kia bharwasa dum da !

Uddia bhaur thia pardesi agge rah aagam da

Koori duniya koor pasara jeun moti shabnam da !!

(Oh dear friend there is no certainty of your breath.
It (soul) will fly off like black wasp and will become
a stranger and no one knows of the future. This
world is false and everything is false just like a
pearl of dew-drop.)

سمجھ نہاڑیے تیرا دہندا وقت وماندا
اہ دنیا دوچار دیہاڑے وکھدیاں لدجندا
دولت دنیا مال خزانہ سنگ نہ کوئی لے جاندا
مات پتا بھائی ست بھتا نال نہ کوئی جاندا
کہے حسین فقیر نماں باقی نام سائیں دارہندا

समझ नदण्डिये तेरा वहन्दा वकत वेहान्दा

ऐ दुनिया दो चार हेहाड़े वेखदेआँ लद जान्दा !

दौलत दुनिया माल खज़ाना सगँ ना कोई लै जान्दा

मात पिता भाई सुत बत्ता नाल ना कोई जान्दा

कहे हुसैन फ़कीर नमाना बाकी नाम साईँ दा रहन्दा ॥

Samajh nadanariey tera wehnda waqt wehanda,

Eh duniya do char dehare dekh diyan lad janda;

Daulat duniya mal khazana sang na koi lai janda,

Maat pita bhai sut banta nal na koi janda,

Kahe husain faqir numana baqi nam sain da rehnda.

(Understand you unwise one that your time is
running out. Your sojourn in this world is ephemeral

and you will pass away. Wealth, world, belongings and treasure no one can take with him; mother, father, brother and other dear ones, no one goes with you; says Husain, humble *faqir*, only name of the Almighty remains in this world.)

Here is a *Kafi* in which Husain describes, in a short and forceful manner, the sarcasm of the public about his unique ways —

ربا میرے اوگن چیت نہ دھاریں
اوگن ہاری کوگن نہیں اندروں فضل کریں
دنیا والیاں نوں دنیا دا مانا ننگا نوں ننگ لوی
نا اسی ننگ نہ دنیا والے سانوں ہس دی جانی کانی
کہے حسین فقیر سائیں داسا ڈی ڈاڑے نال بنی

रब्बा मेरे औगण चित ना धारिँ !

औगण हारी को गुण नही अन्दरीँ फ़ज़ल करीँ
दुनियाँ वालेयाँ नूँ दुनिया दा माना नैगाँ नू नगँ लोई
ना असी नगँ ना दुनियाँ वाले सानूँ हसदी जानी कानी
कहे हुसैन फ़कीर साईँ दा साडी डाडे नाल बनी !!

Rabba mere augan chitt na dharin,

Augun hari ko gun nahi andaron fazal karin !

Duniya walian nu duniya da mana nanga nu nang loi

Na asi nang na duniya wale sanu hass di jani kani

Kahe husain faqir sain da sadi dadhe nal bani !!

(O Lord ! do not mind my faults; full of faults (am I) without quality; show compassion from within. To the worldly the pride of the world, to the renouncer renunciation is a cover. Neither a renouncer am I nor worldly, people laugh at me; says Husain, God's *faqir*, I have made friendship with the Terrible One (God).

Below is an excellent example of the deep pathos of the soul-stirring words of Husain where soul is separated from the Lord, and the soul is yearning for the union —

درد و چھوڑے دا حال نی میں کہنوں آکھاں
 سولاں مار دیوا نی کیتی برہوں پایا خیال نی میں کہنوں آکھاں
 جنگل جنگل پھراں ڈھونڈ دی اچے نہ آیا مہیوال نی میں کہنوں آکھاں
 دھوئیں شاہاں والے جا پھولاں تاں لال نی میں کہنوں آکھاں
 کہے حسین فقیر باناں ویکھ نما نیاں دا حال نی میں کہنوں آکھاں

درد ویछوڑے دا حال نی میں کینوں آکھاں
 سولاں مار دیوانی کیٹی بیرھوں پیا خیال نی میں کینوں آکھاں
 جنگل جنگل فیراں ڈھونڈ دی اچے نا آیا مہیوال نی میں کینوں آکھاں
 دھوئیں شاہاں والے جا فولاں تاں لال نی میں کینوں آکھاں
 کہے حسین فقیر رباناں ویکھ نومانیاں دا حال نی میں کینوں آکھاں

Dard vichhore da hal ni mein kehnun akhhan !

Sulaan mar diwani keeti birhon pea khayal ni mein kehnu akhhan !!

Jangal jangal phiran dhund di aje na aya mahiwal ni mein kehnu akhhan !

Dhukhan dhuen shahan wale ja pholan tan lal ni mein kehnu akhhan !

Kahe husain faqir rabbana, wekh numanian da hal ni mein kehnun akhhan !!

(The story of the pain of separation, to whom shall I narrate? These pangs have lasted me and have made me mad, and the long separation is embedded in my thoughts, to whom shall I narrate? From Jungle, to Jungle I roam searching, yet my Mahiwal (Beloved) has not come. The smouldering fire of my pain has black flame, whenever I stir (it), I see Lal (Beloved hidden); says Husain, God's *faqir*, behold the lot of the humble ones to whom shall I narrate?)

After Husain came to be known as Shah Husain, his longing to meet the Universal Lord became more intense. The thoughts and sentiments that his Beloved was separated from him so much over-powered his soul that he constantly sang of his pain and sorrow inflicted by this separation in a very touching manner. These pathos have a very lasting effect on the mind of the reader. Some of the poems are as follows :

سجّ بن راتاں ہوئیاں وڈیاں
 ماس جھڑے جھڑ پنجر ہو یا کن کن گئیاں ہڈیاں
 عشق چھپایا چھپدا ناہیں برہوں تناواں گڈیاں
 رانجھا جی میں جو گئیانی، میں کے کر جھڈیاں
 کہہ شاہ حسین فقیر سائیں داتیرے دامن لگیاں

सज्जन बिन रातों होईयाँ वड्डियाँ
 मास झड़े झड़ पिजँर होया कन कन गइयाँ हड्डियाँ
 इश्क छपाया छपदा नाहीं बिरहों तनावों गड्डियाँ
 रँझा जोगी में जोगियानी में के कर छड्डियाँ
 कहे शाह हुसैन फ़कीर साईँ दा तेरे दामन लगियाँ

Sajjan bin ratan hoyan waddiyan !
Mas jharre jharr pinjar hoya kan kan gaiyan haddiyan !!
Ishq chhupaya chhapda nahin birho tanvan gaddian !
Ranjha jogi mein jogiani, mein ke kar chhaddian !!
Kahe shah husain faqir sain da tere daman laggian !!

(Without the Beloved the nights have become longer;
 my flesh has fallen, my body has become a skeleton
 and my bones rattle against each other; love never
 remains hidden, even if you try utmost specially
 when *birha* (separation) has pitched its camp.
 Ranjha (God) is a Jogi and I His Jogin, what have
 I done to myself ? Says Shah Husain, God's *faqir*,
 I have attached myself to Thy skirt.)

The poem's sweet melody reflects on the well known Punjabi asceticism and the inner feelings of a devout Sufi. Again Shah Husain craves for the union with the Beloved in the following words—

فی سبّو آسین نیناں دے آکھے لگے
 جنہاں پاک نگاہاں ہویاں سے کہیں نہ جانے ٹھکے
 کالے بٹ نہ جڑے سفیدی کاگ نہ تھندے لگے
 شاہ حسین شہادت پائین جو مرز میٹراں دے لگے

नी सइयो असीं नैनाँ दे आखे लगगे
जिहँ पाक निगाहँ होइयों से कही ना जान्दे ठगगे
काले पट ना चड़े सफ़ेदी काग ना थीन्दे बगगे
शाह हुसन शहादत पाई जो मरन मित्राँ दे अगगे ।

*Ni saiyo asi nainan de akhe lagge;
Jinhan pak nigahan hoyyan se kahin na jande thagge,
Kale patt na charhe safaidi kag no thinde bagge,
Shah husain shahadat pain jo maran mitran de agge.*

(Oh friends, I obeyed my eyes : Those who have pious eyes, they can never be deceived; black (bad) can never become white (pure and good) just as the crows (black) cannot become white. Says Shah Husain, those who die for their friend Beloved (God) they become martyrs in this world.)

Here is an example of Shah Husain's love for wine and other intoxicants; he prays to God to grant him these boons together with wisdom, knowledge and contemplation so that in the ecstatic state, he may obtain union with the Lord :

जिती जेती दुनियाँ राम जी तेरे कौलों मन्नादी
कुडँ दैई सोटा दैई कोठी दैई भगँ दी
साफ़ी दैई मिर्चा दैई बे मिनती दैई रगँ दी
पोस्त दैई बाटी दैई चाटी दैई खडँ दी
इयान दैई ध्यान दैई महमा साधू सगँ दी
शाह हुसैन फ़कीर साईँ दा एही दुआ ए मलगँ दी।

जेती जेती दुनियाँ राम जी तेरे कौलों मन्नादी
कुडँ दैई सोटा दैई कोठी दैई भगँ दी
साफ़ी दैई मिर्चा दैई बे मिनती दैई रगँ दी
पोस्त दैई बाटी दैई चाटी दैई खडँ दी
इयान दैई ध्यान दैई महमा साधू सगँ दी
शाह हुसैन फ़कीर साईँ दा एही दुआ ए मलगँ दी।

*Jeti jeti duniya ram ji tere kaulon mang di
Kunda dein sota dein kotthi dein bhang di
Safi dein mircha dein be minti dein rang di
Posat dein bati dein chati dein khand di
Gyan dein dhyan dein mahima sadhu sang di
Shah husain faqir sain da ehi dua ee malang di !*

(All the world, O Rama (God) begs from you. Give the stone vessel for rubbing and wooden staff for pressing and a chamber full of *bhang* (*canabis indica*) (intoxicant); give the cloth (for straining) and black pepper and measureless colour. Give poppy seeds, dish and large earthen vessel full of sugar. Give wisdom, knowledge and contemplation and the honour of the company of sages. Shah Husain says, the *faqir* of God, this is the prayer of a mendicant.

Such was Shah Husain, the unusual Sufi, who lived and craved in the hope of meeting his Beloved and thus merging himself in Him.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. *Tazkira Awliya-i-Hind*, Vol. III, p. 33.
2. The word *nau* is a sarcastic prefix which was usually added to the names of new converts to Islam.
3. See *Dariya-i-Ma'rifat* containing the *Kasab Nama*.
4. *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti* by Noor Ahmed Chishti, p. 43.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
6. L. Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, P. 33.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
11. Maula Baksh Kushta, *Punjabi Shairaan da Tazkira*, p. 53.
12. L. Rama Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

14. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 56.
15. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., pp. 35-36.
16. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., pp. 55- 56.
17. Ibid., p. 56.
18. Ibid., p. 56.
19. Chopra R. M., *The Legacy of the Punjab*, p.94.
20. Chopra R. M., *The Contribution of the Indian Sufis to the Communal Harmony in Indo-Iranica*, Vol. 48 (1-4) p. 106.
21. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 39.
22. Ibid., p. 39.
23. According to Maula Baksh Kushta, 163 *Kafis* of Shah Husain are available and out of these only one *Kafi* is mentioned in the *Khari Behr* of Sri Guru Granth Sahib. (op. cit., p. 57).
24. *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 47.
25. *Suhagan* is a woman whose husband is living, hence happy.
26. From *Qawwaalis* which the *Qawwaals* sing.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

SULTAN BAHU

Great and Poets of The Punjab

SULTAN BAHU

SULTAN BAHU (1630—1691 A.D.)

After the Muslim conquest of Northern India, The Punjab had a good crop of Sufis from the Thirteenth Century A.D., onwards. In Sultan Bahu (1630 - 91 A.D.) we have one of the greatest mystics not only of the Punjab but also of India. We do not find any account of his date of birth but many accounts are available which confirm that he died in 1691 A.D.,¹ after completing sixtythree lunar years of age from which it can be deduced that he must have been born in 1630 A.D., at Awan, near Shorkot, in Jhang district.

According to *Manaaqab-i-Sultani* written by Sultan Hamid, a relative and descendent of the Sufi poet Sultan Bahu, the ancestors of the poet migrated to the Punjab from Arabia after the death of Hasan and Husain, sons of Imam Ali and grandsons of the Prophet, and settled down at a place called Pind Dadan Khan, in Jhelum district.² He has given a detailed account as to how they occupied, forcefully, the area and converted the entire Hindu population of that place to Islam. However, we know that Sultan Bazid, father of Sultan Bahu, was a Zamindar and a resident of Jhang district.³ By disposition, Sultan Bazid and his wife, the mother of Bahu, were quiet persons who led a pious life and were known for their generosity and benevolence in the neighbourhood. Emperor Shah Jahan is known to have held the family in high esteem and conferred on Sultan Bazid the area of Kahar Jaanan in *Jagir*.⁴

There are many anecdotes related to the birth and childhood of Bahu most of which are steeped in legends. It is said that when Bahu was not yet a year old and was still a suckling baby, in the month of *Ramazan* (the Muslim month of fasting), he did not take milk throughout the day, as if observing fast, and took it only before sunrise and after sunset,⁵

which emphasises the fact that even as a toddler, providentially, he was bestowed a highly religious bent of mind.

According to another legend, it is said that when Bahu was a boy, he was such a devout Muslim that a kind of nimbus-like halo of radiance spread round his face, and whenever a Hindu saw it, he was so impressed by it that he would renounce his religion and get converted to Islam. Hindus of that area were alarmed and frightened and a delegation of leading Hindus approached Bahu's father and requested him to keep Bahu indoors except at certain hours so as not to upset the community which request was accepted and complied with.⁶ All these legends and attributes go to stress emphatically that Bahu had shown extraordinary signs of religious devoutness right from his childhood.

The name Bahu, which, literally, means "with the Lord",⁷ was given to Sultan Bahu, whose real name was Sultan Muhammad, by his mother under whose guidance and supervision primary education was imparted to him at home. Bahu, it is mentioned in *Manaaqab-i-Sultani*, was grateful to his mother for giving him the name Bahu, which by the alteration of one *nukta* (point) becomes Yahu, an efficacious name of God recitation of which is considered an act of merit. In the meantime, he was married and had begotten children. He was greatly attached to his mother, a pious and a highly religious lady of strong character, and wanted her to become his *pir* or *murshid* which she declined on the plea that women in Islam were not permitted to be spiritual teachers and he was advised to look for a male teacher. Whereupon, leaving behind his wives and family, he came first to Multan, then known as 'Baghdad of the East', and served at the dargah of Baha-ul-Haqq and from there he went to Hazrat Habibullah.⁸ Master found, in due course of time, that his brilliant student had extraordinary perception and understanding of Sufistic ideology and performed better *karamats* (miracles) than him, he expressed his inability to teach him any further but, at the same time, advised him to go to the renowned Sufi of Delhi, Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Rehman, who was a *mansabdar* in the court at Delhi and was known to possess great spiritual knowledge. Sultan Bahu went to Delhi and was at once taken in as a disciple by Abdul Rehman. Bahu learnt about

Sufism from his master which brought a great maturity in Bahu's thoughts and attainments as a Sufi. He also acquired proficiency in Persian and Arabic. In Persian prose and poetry he is said to have written 140 books on Sufism some of which are : *Shams-al-'Arafeen*, *Muftah-al-'Arafeen*, *Mohkum-al-Fuqra*, *Ain-al-Fuqra*, *Amir-al-Konin*, *Diwan Bahu*, *Uqqal Bedaar*, etc.⁹

According to Sultan Baksh Qadari, Bahu was held in high regard by Emperor Aurangzeb who is reported to have paid all kinds of attention to him but the Sufi did not seem much to care for the Emperor as, perhaps, he doubted the attention of the Emperor or disapproved of his treatment meted out to the Sufi saints and friends of Prince Dara Shikoh whom all Sufis, especially the Qadaris, admired and considered as one of themselves.¹⁰

Bahu died in 1691 A.D. (1102 A.H.) and was buried at Kahar Jaanan which became a place of pilgrimage for his adherents and many of his *murids* started residing there. In 1765 A.D., when the Sikh *misls* ruled in the Punjab, Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh of Bhangi *misl* raided the district. All the *murids* and relatives of Bahu, although keen to protect the shrine, ran away from fear except one *murid* who stayed back. The Sikh chiefs, contrary to what was expected, did not despoil the shrine and left the *murid* unmolested. What the Sikh Chiefs spared, nature, however, did not. The river Chenab, which is known for its turbulence, changed its course and, in the process, its waters swept away the shrine. Subsequently, the coffin of the saint was placed under the pipal tree in a new premises where a raised platform was constructed. This happened ten years after the Sikh raid on the district in 1775 A.D.¹¹

HIS WORKS

Bahu was not only an accomplished Sufi of the *Qadariya silsila* but he was also a writer of distinction in Arabic and Persian. In Persian prose and poetry, as earlier mentioned, he is credited to have written more than one hundred and forty treatises on Sufism. We do not come across any of his writings in his mother-tongue, Punjabi, except a few poems

and *Siharfi* preserved by his followers. It is possible that writing in Punjabi language in those days was not in vogue; Persian being the court language, and the language of the literati, it was considered unscholarly to write in Punjabi. Even if he wrote in Punjabi, which is doubtful, except the Punjabi verse which is preserved by his adherents, admirers and *gaddi-nashins*, the same has been lost. Since most of the adherents and admirers of Sultan Bahu were simple villagers and uneducated people and they knew only their mother-tongue Punjabi, we are fortunate enough that some of the compositions preserved by them and by the traditional *qawwaals* have come down to us. Mian Fazal Din of Lahore had published some of them. The published *Siharfi* of Bahu is a lengthy one. Each letter of the Persian alphabet has one, two or four short poems. Another striking feature of his verse is that every second *tukk* of his verse or *misra* (line) ends in *Hu*, which is regarded as a name of Allah and repeating it as often as possible is considered an act of merit by the faithful. This was quite an innovation in Punjabi verse and is found efficacious in establishing the authenticity of Bahu's compositions.

Bahu, no doubt, belonged to the philosophic school of the Sufis,¹² but he was never vociferous about it and kept his philosophy under wraps of ostensible orthodoxy. Perhaps it was because, he thought, Emperor Aurangzeb kept a careful watch on his movements and activities. There could be another reason, namely, that since he had declared himself a *Pir* this position did not allow him that freedom and liberty which was enjoyed by Shah Husain before him or, later on, by Bulleh Shah his younger contemporary. As his position demanded a certain amount of restraint and prudence, his philosophic ideas were contained in the exterior of orthodox thoughts, in spite of his personal convictions otherwise.

Although Bahu's ideas were philosophic they were at great variance with Bulleh Shah, his younger contemporary. Bahu was, no doubt, highly religious in outlook but in his pantheism he did not seem to subscribe to the doctrine of reincarnation and the theory of *Karma*; even if he did, they were not conspicuous in his compositions. Whereas Bulleh Shah not only subscribed to them but also was a staunch supporter of them

and believed in the *Advaita* conception of the Universal Lord which became the guiding principle of his pantheistic Sufism. It can, therefore, be surmised that the pantheistic philosophy of Sultan Bahu was unsteady and lacked balance; the equilibrium in his thought was disturbed which was reflected in his life-style of princely living and indulgence in worldly pleasures.¹³ Bahu had four wives, three Muslim and one Hindu, and is reported to have had many mistresses. Of course, it is futile to judge his private life, nevertheless, this kind of life, though sanctioned by Muslim law, did not befit a master and a Sufi saint.¹⁴ His personal life, presumably, was a consequence of his philosophic unsteadiness.

HIS POETRY

Bahu composed poetry in Punjabi in simple, unpretensions yet deeply absorbing style. He developed his own style from his own resources of thought and vast study of knowledge of the language by which he wanted to reach out to the simple Punjabi folks. His verses are totally free from artificiality. Another remarkable thing about his verses is that they are extremely pious and completely bereft of all human love and its ideals. Here he differs a great deal with the other Sufi poets of the Punjab.

Bahu's compositions are in Punjabi language as spoken in Jhang district which is an admixture of central (*Manjhi*) and *Lehndi* dialects, occasionally interspersed with *Multani* dialect. His language has sweetness and simplicity without any trace of vulgarity.

Unlike the compositions of Shah Husain, Bulleh Shah and other Punjabi Sufi poets of philosophic thought, the poetry of Bahu lacks in deep feelings; heart-rending pathos of separation (*birha*) of the soul from the Universal Lord and yearning for the union, references to the immortal stories of perfect love as the Sufis were wont to do, but in religious outlook, in sincerity and dignity it is in no way inferior to any one of them. Bahu's poetry is not much known and whatever popularity it has achieved is mainly in the close circle of his followers, *murids*, traditional *qawwaals* who sing at his tomb and people in the neighbouring areas of Kahar Jaanan, although it deserves better consideration.

The following poems have been extracted from Bahu's *Siharfi*.

الف۔ اللہ جنبہ دی بوٹی مُرشد میرے من لائی ہو
نَفی اثبات دا پانی ملیا ہر آگے ہر جانی ہو
اندر بوٹی مشک بچایا جاں بھلن پر آئی ہو
جیوے مُرشد کامل باہو جس الیہ بوٹی لائی ہو

अलफ़ अल्लाह चम्बे दी बूटी मुश्शद मेरे मन लाई हू
नफ़ी असबात दा पानी मिलेआ शाह रगगे हर जाई हू
अन्दर बूटी मुशक मचाया जान फुल्लन पर आई हू
जीवे मुश्शद कामल बाहू जिस ऐ बूटी लाई हू ।

Alaf *Allah chambe di booti murshid mere mann layee hu*
Nafi asbat da paani milia shah ragge har jayee hu
Andar booti mushk machaya jaan phullan par aiye hu
Jive murshid kamal bahu jis eh booti lai hu !

(**Alaf** : Allah is like the fragrant shrub of jasmine which has been planted by my master (*murshid*) in my heart, O He; it is watered by self negation and it has remained near the *shah rag* (great vein nearest the mind) and everywhere else O He; inside me the shrub has spread its fragrance as flowers are about to be blossomed, O He; long live perfect master, says Bahu, who has planted this shrub, O He.)

Bahu, in prayer, bows to the grace, blessings and kindness showered on the faithful by the Prophet who has shown the true path. He says,

ب۔ بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اِسْمِ اللّٰهِ وَالِیِّہِ بھئی رہنا بھارا ہو
نال شفاعت سرورِ عالم چھٹ سہی عالم سارا ہو
حدوں بے حد درود نبی نوں قبیلہ اید بھارا ہو
میس قربان تنہاں دے باہو جنہاں ملیا نبی سہارا ہو

बे बिस्म अल्लाह इस्म अल्लाह दा ऐह भी रहना भारा हू
नाल शफ़ाअत सरवरे आलम छुट सी आलम सारा हू
हद्दों बेहद दरुद नबी नूँ जैन्दा ऐड पसारा हू
मैं कुरबान तिन्हाँ तो बाहू जिन्हाँ मिलया नबी सहारा हू ।

Be *Bismillah ism allah da eh bhi rehna bhara hu*
Naal shafa'at sarvar-e-alam chhutt si alam sara hu
Huddon behadd darood nabi nun jaindda ed pasara hu
Main qurban tinhaan ton bahu jinhan milia nabi sahara hu !

(**Be** : Bismillah is the name of Allah and only this will remain, O He; by the grace and blessings of the Prophet, this world will have to be left, O He; with limitless kindness of the Prophet who has established the path, O He; I sacrifice for those, Bahu, whom the Prophet has given shelter (refuge), O He.)

In the following poem, Bahu criticises the so-called learned and people professing holiness who fall for material things, but praises those who live on their hard earnings :

ح - حافظ حفظ کر کر کن تکبر، کرن مللاں وڑیا نی ہو
ساون ماہ دے بدلاں وانگوں پھرن کتاباں چائی ہو
جیتھے دیکھن چنگا چوکھا او تھے پڑھن کلام سوائی ہو
اوہ دوہیں جہانی مٹھے باہو جہاں کھادی ویچ کائی ہو

हे हाफ़िज़ हिफ़ज़ कर करन तकब्बर करन मुल्लों वडियाई हू
सावन माह दे बदलों वाँगू फिरन किताबों चाई हू
जित्थे वेखन चगाँ चोखा ओत्थे पढ़न कलाम सिवाई हू
ओह दोहीं जहाने मुठ्ठे बाहू जिन्हाँ खादी वेच कमाई हू !

He *Hafiz hifaz kar karan takabbar, karan mulla wadiyae hu,*
Sawan mah de badlan wangun phiran kitabaan chayee hu,
Jiththe wekhan changa chokha othe padhan kalaam sawayee hu
Oh doheen jahane muththe bahu jinhan khadi wech kamayee hu.

(*He* : By memorising the Quran, *Hafiz* feels proud and praises the *Mulla*, O He; like the clouds of rainy season he wanders about carrying books, O He; wherever he sees good material things in abundance, he reads aloud (the holy) words, O He; Bahu, he who has followed the straight path and lived his life on his earnings (efforts) has conquered both the worlds, O He.)

What the Beloved desires from the lover is a pure heart and not a handsome face; his good actions and not good appearance; which has been finely expressed by Bahu in the following poem :

دل کالے کولوں منہ کالا چنگا جے کوئی اُسُنوں جانے ہُو
 منہ کالا دل اچھا ہوئے تاں دل یار پچھا نے ہُو
 اے دل یار دے پچھے ہر دے متاں یاروی کدے پچھا نے ہُو
 باہو تے عالم چھوڑ متیاں نٹھے بد لگے نے دل نکا نے ہُو

دال دل کالے کولوں مھن کالا چنگا جے کوئی اُسُن جانے ہُو
 مھن کالا دل اچھا ہووے تاں دل یار پچھانے ہُو
 اے دل یار دے پیچھے ہووے متاں یار وی کدے پچھانے ہُو
 باہو سہ آلام چھوڑ مہیٹاں نہٹے جد لگے نا دل ٹیکانے ہُو !

Dal *Dil kale kolon munh kala changa, je koi usnun jane hu,*
Munh kala dil achhaa hove tan dil yar pachchane hu,
Eh dil yar de pichche hove, matan yar wi kade pachchane hu
Bahu, sai alam chhor masitan nathhe, jad lage na dil tikane hu.

(*Dal* : Black face is better than black heart, if one understands that, O He; if face is black and heart is pure, then the Beloved recognises that, O He; such heart should even crave for the Beloved, it is possible that He may recognise him, O He; Bahu, hundreds of learned men have left the mosques and ran out (to their *murshids*), when their hearts have not attained satisfaction, O He.)

Bahu's ideal of a *faqir* (asectic) is graphically portrayed in the following composition. Although he belonged to Qadariya *silsila*, here the influence of *Malaamatiya silsila* is discernible :

ج - جیوندیاں مر رہنا ہوئے تاں ویس فقیراں کریئے ہو
 جے کوئی سٹے گڈڑ کوڑا وانگ اردی سبے ہو
 جے کوئی کڈے گالاں مہنے اُس نوں جی جی کہے ہو
 گلا اُلا مہ بھنڈی خواہی یار دے پاروں سبے ہو

जीम ज्योदियाँ मर रहना होवे ताँ वेस फ़कीराँ करये हू
 जे कोई सुट्टे गुदड़ कूड़ा वागँ अरुड़ी सहिये हू
 जे कोई कड्डे गालाँ मेहने ऊस नू जी जी कहिये हू
 गिला ऊलामह भँडी खुआरी यार दे पारौँ सहिये हू

Jim *Jiundian mar rehna hove, tan wes faqira kariye hu*
Je koi sutte guddar kura, wang aruree sahiya hu
Je koi kadde gallan mehne, us nun ji ji kahiye hu
Gila-ulahmaan bhandi khawari yar de paron sahiye hu.

(**Jim** : If, while living, we want to remain dead, then we should wear the robe of *faqirs*, O He; if any one throws tattered, wornout rags and rubbish, like dunghill, we should say Sir, Sir, O He; complaints and taunts, scandals and troubles, we should bear for the sake of the Beloved, O He.)

To a Sufi, the ideal is union with the Divine Beloved and without that everything else is false in this world. Bahu says —

ن - نہ میں عالم نہ میں فاضل نہ مفتی نہ قاضی ہو
 نہ دل میرا دوزخ سنگے نہ شوق بہشتی راضی ہو
 نہ میں ترے روزے رکھے نہ میں پاک نمازی ہو
 اچھ وصال اللہ دے باہو دنیا کوڑی بازی ہو

नून ना मैं आलम ना मैं फ़ाज़ल ना मुफ़्ती ना काज़ी हू
 ना दिल मेरा दोज़ख मनो ना शौक बहिशती राज़ी हू
 ना मैं तरीये रोज़े रखे ना मैं पाक नमाज़ी हू
 बाझ वसाल अल्लाह दे बाहू दुनिया कूड़ी बाज़ी हू !

Nun *Na main alam na main fazal na mufti na qazi hu,
Na dil mera dozakkh mange na shauq bahishti razi hu;
Na main terraiye roze rakhe na main pak namazi hu
Bajh wasaal allah de bahu duniya koori baazi hu.*

(**Nun** : Neither am I learned nor am I highly educated, nor *Mufti* (lawman) nor *Qazi* (magistrate), O He; neither my heart desires hell nor am I interested in heaven, O He; neither have I fasted (in the month of *Ramazan*) nor am I a pious *namazi*, O He; without union with God, Bahu, this world is false, O He.)

All the Sufis of the Punjab, like elsewhere, were quite averse to the so-called learned men; for them learning of letters, devoid of Love Divine, was no learning at all. They held love for the Beloved and union with Him the ultimate goal in this world. Bahu has also expressed these sentiments as follows :

پے - پڑھ پڑھ علم ہزار کتاباں عالم ہوئے سارے ہو
اک حرف عشق دا نا پڑھیا جانن بھلے بھرن بچارے ہو
اک نگاہ جے عاشق دیکھے لکھ ہزاراں تارے ہو
لکھ نگاہ جے عالم دیکھے کسے نہ کدھی چاہے ہو
عشق عقل و نوح منزل بھاری تھیاں کوہاں دے پاڑے ہو
عشق نہ جنہاں خریدیا یا باہو آہ دوہیں جہانیں مارے ہو

پے पढ़ पढ़ इलम हज़ार किताबों आलम होए सारे हू
इक हरफ़ इश्क दा ना पढ़या जानन भुल्ले फिरन विचारे हू
इक निगाह जे आशक वेखे लख हज़ारों तारे हू
लख निगाह जे आलम वेखे किसे ना कद्धी चाहड़े हू
इश्क अकल विच मन्ज़ल भारी सय्यों कोहों दे पाड़े हू
इश्क ना जिन्हों खरीदेया बाहू ओह दोहीं जहानी माड़े हू !

Pe *Padh padh ilam hazaar kitaban alam hoe sare hu,
Ikk haraf ishq da na padhia jannan bhulle phirann bechare hu,
Ikk nigah je aashaq wekhe lakkh hazaaran tare hu,
Lakkh nigah je alam wekhe kisse na kaddhi chahde hu,
Ishq uqqal wich manzal bhari saiyan kohan de pade hu,
Ishq na jinhan kharidia bahu oh doven jahani mare hu.*

(**Pe** : By reading thousand books, all have become learned, O He; those who have not read one word of Love (Divine) are poor souls roaming around lost, O He; One sight of the Beloved is worth hundred thousand twinkling stars, O He; sight of hundred thousand people of the world has not helped in the devotion of the soul, O He; destinations of love and wisdom are different, the difference is of hundred mountains, O He; those who have not purchased (obtained) Love (Divine), Bahu, they have lost both the worlds, O He.)

In the following poem, Bahu relates the blissful state of those who have attained union with God.

ج . جنہاں شاہو الف تھیں پایا او فیر قرآن نہ پڑھدے ہو
اوہ مارن دم محبت والا دور ہوئے نہیں پر دے ہو
دوزخ بہشت غلام تنہاں دے چاکتوں نے بردے ہو
میں قربان تنہاں تو باہو جیڑے واحدت دے دینج دے ہو

जीम जिन्हें शाहू अलफ़ थी पाया, ओ फ़कीर कुरान ना पढ़ दे हू,
ओह मारन दम मुहब्बत वाला, दूर होए ने परदे हू
दोज़ख बहिशत गुलाम तिन्हें दे, चा किताँ ने बरदे हू,
मैं कुरबान तिन्हें तो बाहू जेहड़े वाहदत दे विच वड़दे हू ।

Jim *Jinhan shau alaf thi paya, oh faqir quran na parh de hu,
Oh maaran dum mohhabat wala, door hoye ne parde hu;
Dozzakh bahisht ghulam tinhande, cha kitton ne barde hu,
Main qurban tinhaan to Bahu, jehre wahdat de wich warde hu.*

(**Jim** : Those who have found God in *alaf*, they then don't read the Quran, O He; they take the breath of Love (Divine), their veils (of ignorance) have been lifted, O He; hell and heaven are their slaves, they forsake their faults, O He; I sacrifice for those, Bahu,

who in the Unity of God (*wahat-al-wajud* - Unity of Godhead, doctrine propounded by Ibn al-Arabi) enter, O He.)

In the following poem, Bahu describes the horrors of the grave and parting from the near and dear and also suggests that all this could be avoided if one bows his head to the Divine Will :

ج۔ جیوندے کی جانن سار مویاں دی سو جانے جو مر دا ہُو
قبراں دے وِچ اَن نہ پانی او تھے خُرخِ بُر نیا گھر دا ہُو
اک دُجھوڑا مایاں پو بھائییاں دو جا ازاں قبراں دا ہُو
ایمان سلامت تیس دا باہو جیہڑا رب اگے سر دھرا ہُو

जीम जीयोन्दे की जानन सार मोयाँ दी सो जाने जो मरदा हू ।
कबराँ दे विच अन्न ना पानी ओथे खर्च दुरेन्दा घर दा हू ।
इक विछोड़ा माँ प्यो भाईआँ दूजा अज़ाब कबर दा हू ।
ईमान सलामत तिस दा बाहू जेहड़ा रबब अगो सिर धरदा हू ॥

Jim *Jiunde ki janan saar moyan di so jane jo marda hu,
Qabraan de wich ann na pani utthe kharch turenda ghar da hu,
Ikk wichhora ma pio bhaiyaan duja azaab qabar da hu,
Iman salamat tis da Bahu jehra rabb agge sir dharda hu.*

(**Jim** : What do the living know in which state the dead are ? he alone knows who dies, O He; in graves there is no food no water and spending is of one own's house, O He; first there is parting from mother, father and brothers, second is the problem of the grave, O He; faith of that man is safe, Bahu, whose head bows in obeisance before God, O He.)

Here Bahu defines the real lovers (seekers after truth) who do not belong to any professed religion - their religion is Love Divine :

ن۔ نہ اوہ ہندو نہ اوہ مومن نہ سجدہ دین سیتی ہُو
دم دم دے وِچ دیکھن مولا جنہاں جانِ قضا نہ کیتی ہُو
اے دانے تے بنے دیوانے جنہاں ذات ساہی وِچ کیتی ہُو
میں قربان تنہاں تو باہو جنہاں عشق باری چن لیتی ہُو

नून ना ओह हिन्दू ना ओह मोमन ना सजदा देन मसीती हू ।
 दम दम दे विच वेखन मौला जिन्हों जान कज़ा ना कीती हू ।
 ऐ दाने ते बने दीवाने जिन्हों ज़ात साही वज़्र कीती हू ।
 मैं कुरबान तिन्हों तो बाहू जिन्हों इश्क बाज़ी चुन लेती हू ॥

Nun *Na oh hindu na oh moman na sajda den masiti hu,
 Dam dam de wich wekhan maula, jinhan jaan qaza na kitti hu;
 Aae daane te bane diwane jinhan zaat sahi wanjh kitti hu
 Main qurban tinhaan to bahu, jinhan ishq baazi chun litti hu.*

(**Nun** : Neither are they Hindus nor are they Muslims, nor in the mosque they pay obeisance, O He; in every breath they behold God, who have not ended their life, O He; they came wise but became mad, who have directed their lives towards the Lord, O He; I sacrifice for those, Bahu, who have chosen the life of Love (Divine), O He.)

Bahu explains in the following verse, how a true master (spiritual preceptor) can show the path of God and also how he can be instrumental in procuring the grace of God :

ن - ناہیں جوگی ناہیں جٹگام نہ میں چلا کما یا ہو
 نہ میں بھج مسیتی دریا نہ تسبیحا کھڑ کا یا ہو
 جو دم غافل سودم کافر سانوں مرشدائے فرمایا ہو
 مرشد سانوں سوہنی کیتی باہو اکو پل رنج چا بخشایا ہو

नून नाहीं जोगी नाहीं जटगाम ना मैं चिल्ला कमाया हू ।
 ना मैं भज मसीती वड़िया ना तसबीहा खड़काया हू ।
 जो दम ग़ाफ़िल सो दम काफ़िर सानू मुरशद ऐ फ़रमाया हू ।
 मुरशद सानू सोहनी कीती बाहू इक्को पल विच चा बख़शया हू ॥

Nun *Nahi jogi nahin jattgam na main chilla kamaya hu,
 Na main bhaj masiti wariya na tasbiha kharkaya hu,
 Jo dam ghafil so dam kafir sanun murshid eh pharmaya hu,
 Murshid sanu sohni kitti, bahu, ikko pal wich cha bakhshaya hu.*

(**Nun** : Neither a *Jogi* (renouncer) nor a *Jattgam* (*sadhu* or *dervesh* with long braided tresses) nor have I observed *chilla* (penance for forty days), O He; neither have I run to the mosque nor have I made any noise with the rosary, O He; "that breath when one is forgetful (careless), that breath is *kafir* (false)" has been taught to us by my master, O He; master has been very kind to me, says Bahu, in a moment he procured grace (of God) to me, O He.)

In the following poem, Bahu has condemned mixing with bad company and has described how those who are inherently bad shall always remain bad even if you try your utmost to make them good :

ن - نال کسنگی سنگ نہ کرے کس نول لاج نہ لایے ہو
 مول تے ترلوز نہ ہندے توڑے کیے لے جائے ہو
 کانواں دے بچے ہنس نہ تھندے توڑے مرنی چوک چکایے ہو
 کورے کھوڑ نہ مٹے ہونے باہر ہانویں تے مناں کھنڈ پائیے ہو

نून نال کوسنگی سگن نا کرے کول نول لاج نا لایے ہ
 مول تاممے ترلوز نا ہوندے توڑے توڑے مکھے لے جائے ہ
 کاواں دے بچے ہنس نا تھندے توڑے موٹی چوگ چوگایے ہ
 کورے کھوڑ نا مٹھے ہوندے باہر ہانویں سے مناں کھنڈ پائیے ہ ॥

Nun *Nal kusangi sang na kariye kul nun laj na laiye hu,*
Mul tamme tarbuz na honde tore tor makke lai jaiye hu,
Kanwan de bachche hans na thinde tore moti chog chogaiye hu,
Kaure khoo na mitthe honde bahu bhanven sae manan khand paiye hu.

(**Nun** : We should not mix with the bad company and save the family from ignominy, O He; gourd (which appears like water-melon) does not become water-melon that can be taken to Mecca, O He; children of crows do not become swans (*Hans* known for wisdom) to whom you can feed pearls, O He; wells with bitter water cannot become sweet, Bahu,

even if you put hundred of maunds (measure of weight) of sugar in them, O He.)

Bahu expresses his conception of Sufi thought. He is quite emphatic about the frivolous role played by the *Pundits* and the *Maulavis* or the futility of religious rites and rituals, as he says -

م۔ منہاں دانے دروازے آچے راو ربانی موری ہو
پندتاں تے ملوانیاں کوں چھپ چھپ لنگدے چوری ہو
اڈیاں مارن کرن کبھرے درد مندان دیاں گھوڑی ہو
باہو چل اتھائیں دے جیتے دعویٰ کسے نہ چوری ہو

मीम मज़बाँ वाले दरवाज़े ऊँचे राह रब्बानी मोरी हू
पण्डताँ ते मोलवीयाँ कोलौ छप छप लंगदे चोरी हू
अड्डियाँ मारन करन बखेड़े दर्द मन्दौ दियाँ घोड़ी हू
बाहू चल ऊँथाई वसिये जित्हे दावा किसे ना होरी हू ।

Mim *Mazhabaan wale darwaze uchche, rah rabbani mori hu,
Pundtan te maulavian kolon chhap chhap lange de chori hu;
Addian maran karan bakhere dardmandan dian ghorī hu
Bahu chal utthain wassiye jitthe dawa kisse na hori hu.*

(**Mim** : Gates of religions are high, the path of God is like a narrow hole, O He; from the *Pundits* and the *Maulavis* it passes hidden and unseen, O He; they kick their heels and create trouble, the sufferer is a *ghori* (symbol of marriage (*wasaa*) indicating union with the Lord), O He; Bahu, let us go and settle there where no one else has a claim, O He.)

It is remarkable that all Sufis venerated their *murshids* next to God only and Bahu's love for his *murshid* (master) was no less, as he says -

م۔ مرشد مکہ طالب حاجی کعبہ عشق بنایا ہو
روح حضور سدا ہر ویلے کربائی حج سوا یا ہو
یک دم میتھوں جدا ہوئے دل ملانے تے آیا ہو
مرشد این دنیا باہو میرے لوں لوں روح سما یا ہو

मीम मुरशद मक्का तालब हाजी काबा इश्क बनाया हू ।
 विच हजूर सदा हर वेले करयाई हज्र सिवाया हू ।
 हिक दम मेथीं जुदा जो होवे दिल मिलाने ते आया हू ।
 मुरशद ऐन हयाती बाहू मेरे लूँ लूँ विच समाया हू ॥

Mim *Murshid makka talib haji kaba ishq banaya hu*
Wichch hazoor sada har wele kariai hajj sawaya hu
Hikk dam maithon juda jo hove dil milane te aya hu
Murshid ain hayati bahu mere lun lun wichch samaya hu.

(Mim : The master is Mecca, seeker the pilgrim, and love is the Kaaba, O He; in his (master's) ever presence, let us perform better *hajj* (pilgrimage), O He; even if he parts from me for a moment, the heart craves for him, O He; Bahu, the master is the life, he lives in every pore of mine, O He.)

Although Emperor Aurangzeb paid all attention to Bahu, but he was totally indifferent to it. The following composition would certainly not have endeared Bahu to the Emperor which explains this indifference and he kept himself away from him :

ع - عاشق ہوئے تے عشق کماؤ دل رکھ دانگ بہاراں ہو
 نگہ نگہ بیاں ہزار اُلائے کار جانے باغ بہاراں ہو
 منصور چک سولی دتے واقف کُل اسرار اں ہو
 سجدیاں سار دل نہ چاہے باہو تو کفر کہن ہزاراں ہو

ऐन आशक होए ते इश्क कमावे दिल रखे वागँ पहाड़ाँ हू ।
 लख लख बदियाँ हज़ार ऊलामे कार जाने बाग बहाराँ हू ।
 मनसूर जये चक सूली दिते वाकफ़ कुल इसराँ हू ।
 सज्जदेयाँ सार दिल ना चाहे बाहू तोड़े काफिर कहन हज़ाराँ हू ॥

Ain *Aashiq hove te ishq kamave dil rakkhe wang paharan hu,*
Lakh lakh badian hazaar ulahme, kar jane bagh baharan hu;
Mansur jahe chukk suli ditte waqif kul asraran hu,
Sajdian saar dil na chahe bahu, tore kafir kehan hazaaran hu.

(*Ain* : Lover who professes love (for God) should have a heart like a mountain, O He; millions of invectives and thousands of taunts hurled on him, he should take them in his strides as pleasures of garden, O He; Mansur was put on the cross, because he knew all the secrets, O He; my heart does not desire to bow in obeisance (to anyone except God), Bahu, even if thousands declare me heathen, O He.)

Bahu strongly disapproves of asceticism (*faqiri*) without initiation and proper knowledge and condemns carelessness in pursuit of Love Divine. He says -

ع۔ علم باجھے کوئی فقر کماوے کافر مرے دیوانہ نہ ہو
 شے وریاں دی کرے عبادت راہ اللہ کنو بیگانہ نہ ہو
 غفلت کنو نہ کھلسن پردے دل ظاہل بت خانہ نہ ہو
 میں قربان تہاں تو باہو جنہاں ملیا یار یگانہ نہ ہو

ऐन इलम बाझे कोई फुक्र कमावे काफ़र मरे दीवाना हू ।
 सइ वरियाँ दी करे इबादत राह अल्लाह कनो बेगाना हू ।
 ग़फ़लत कनो ना खुलसन परदे दिल ज़ाहिल बुत-ख़ाना हू ।
 मैं कुरबान तिन्हीं तो बाहू जिन्हीं मिलया यार यगाना हू ॥

Ain *Ilam bajhe koi faqr kamave kafir mare diawana hu,*
Sai wariyan di kare ibadat rah allah kannu begana hu;
Ghaflat kannu na khulsan parde, dil zahil butt-khana hu
Main qurban tinhaan ton bahu, jinhan miliya yar yagana hu.

(*Ain* : Without knowledge if someone professes renunciation, let that unbeliever die insane, O He; he might worship for hundred years (even then) he will be a stranger to God's path, O He; because of carelessness veils of ignorance will not be lifted and foolish heart will remain an idol-house, O He; I sacrifice for those, Bahu, who have met the Unique Beloved, O He.)

The following is an example of Bahu's orthodox ideas; he says, in praise of Hasan, Husain and their father, Iman Ali, as under -

ع - عاشق سوزنی حقیقی جیڑا قتل معشوق دے مننے ہو
 عشق نہ چھوڑے من نہ موڑے توڑے تیری تلواراں کھنے ہو
 جیت دل دیکھے راز مہی دانگا ادائیں و نخبے ہو
 سچا عشق حسین علی دا آہو سر دیوے راز نہ بھنے ہو

ऐन आशक सोई हकीकी जेहड़ा कल्ल माशूक दे मन्ने हू
 इश्क ना छोड़े मूहँ ना मोड़े तोड़े सई तलवारँ खन्ने हू
 जित वल वेखे राज़ माही दा लग्गा उदाई वँझे हू
 सच्चा इश्क हसनैन अली दा बाहू सर देवे राज़ ना भन्ने हू ।

Ain *Ashaq soi haqiqi jehra qatal mashuq de manne hu,
 Ishq na chhore munh na more, tore sai talwaran khanne hu,
 Jit wal wekkhe raaz mahi da laga udahin wanjhe hu,
 Sachcha ishq Husnain Ali da, bahu, sar deve raaz na bhanne hu.*

(**Ain** : True lover is one who considers himself the victim of the Beloved, O He; he will never give up love nor turn away his face even if cut by hundred swords, O He; whichever direction he looks, he sees his Beloved, he goes there, O He; the true love is of Hasan, Husain and Ali who sacrificed their lives, but did not break the rule (or reveal the secret), O He.)

In praise of his Beloved, Bahu says -

ج - چڑھ چتاں تو کر روشنائی ذکر کر نیدے تارے ہو
 تیرے جے جن کئی تیری چڑھ کے ساں سجا باجھ ہنیرا ہو
 جیتے جن ہے ساڈا چڑھ اقدار نہیں کجھ تیری ہو
 جس دے کارن اساں جہم گویا باہو یا ریل ہی کھاری ہو

चे चढ़ चन्ना तू कर रोशनाई ज़िकर करेन्दे तारे हू ।
 तेरे ज्ये चन्न कई सई चढ़दे सानू सजनाँ बाझ हनेरा हू ॥

जिथे चन्न है साडा चढ़दा कदर नही कुझ तेरी हू ।

जिस दे कारन असौं जनम गुवाया बाहू यार मिलसी हिक वारी हू ॥

Che *Charh channa tu kar roshanai, te zikkar karenda tare hu,
Tere jehe chann kai sai charhde, sanun sajjana bajh hanera hu;
Jithe chann hai sada charhda, qadar nahin kujh teri hu,
Jis de karan asan janam guwaya bahu yar milsi ikk wari hu.*

(**Che** : Rise moon and spread your light, the stars will talk about it, O He; like you many hundred moons rise, but without the Friend, there is darkness for me, O He; where our moon (God) rises, no regard is felt for you, O He; for whom I have lost my life, Bahu, once that Friend will meet me, O He.

In the following verse, Bahu has expressed the philosophic concept of Sufism as he understood it -

• ہودا جاما پاکر آیا اسم کماون ذاتی ہو
نہ اوتھے کفر اسلام دی منزل نہ اوتھے موت حیاتی ہو
شاہ رگ تھیں نزدیک لنگھسی پا اندرے جھاتی ہو
اوہ اسان وچ اسی انہاں وچ دور ہوئی قرباتی ہو

हे हू दा जामा पा घर आया इसम कमावन ज़ाती हू ।
ना ओथे कुफर इसलाम दी मँज़िल ना ओथे मौत हयाती हू ।
शाह रग थीं नज़दीक लन्गेसी पा अन्दरे झाती हू ।
ओह असौं विच असी उन्हाँ विच दूर होई कुरबाती हू ॥

He *Hu da jama pa ghar aya, ism kamawan zati hu,
Na otthe kufar islam di manzil, na otthe maut hayati hu;
Shah rag thin nazdeek langhesi pa andare jhati hu,
Oh asan wich, asi unhan wich door hoi kurbati hu.*

(**He** : Dressed in the clothes of God I come home, earning the Name is my profession, O He; neither are there stages of heathenism or Islam, nor are there death and life, O He; He will pass nearer than jugular vein, and throw a glance at you, O He; He is in us and we are in Him, gone away is falsity, O He.)

Like all the Qadaris, Bahu also composed verses in praise of Abdul Qadir Jilani, founder of the sect. Here is one of this kind :

س۔ سن فریاد پیراں دیا پیرا میں آکھ سناواں کہنو ہو
 تیرے جیامینوں ہور نہ کوئی، میں جئے لکھ تینوں ہو
 پھول نہ کاغذ بدیاں والے درتوں دھاک نہ مینوں ہو
 میں وچ اید گناہ نہ ہوندے باہوتوں بخشندہ کا نہروں ہو

सीन सुन फरयाद पीराँ देया पीरा मैं आख सुनावॉ केनू हू ।
 तेरे ज्या मैंनू होर ना कोई मैं ज्ये लख तैनूँ हू ।
 फोल ना कागज़ बदियाँ वाले डर तौँ ढाक ना मैंनू हू ।
 मैं बिच ऐढ गुनाह ना होन्दे बाहू तूँ बकशीन्दौँ काहनू हू ॥

Sin *Sun faryad piran dea pira, main aakkh sunawan kehnu hu,
 Tere jea mainun hor na koi, main jehe lakh tainun hu;
 Phol na kagaz badian wale, dar ton dhak na mainun hu,
 Main wich aid gunah na honde bahu, tun bakshindo kahnun hu.*

(**Sin** : Listen to my appeal O Pir of the Pirs (Abdul Qadar Jilani), to whom else should I tell ? O He; there is no one like you to me, but like me there are millions to you, O He; do not open papers of my bad deeds, don't push me away from your door, O He; if I were not full of such great sins, Bahu, why would you have pardoned me ? O He.)

In his pantheistic Sufism, Sultan Bahu could not comprehend the *Advait* conception of his Beloved and like the Persian Sufis of the 'sober' type wanted to remain within the strict Islamic code and felt that Islam is the only true path, as he says -

اسے دل بجز فراقوں سڑا لے دم مارے نہ جیوے ہو
 سچا راہ محمد والا آجو جائے وچ رب لہجائے ہو

ऐ दिल हिजर फ़राकौँ सड़दा ऐ दम मारे ना जीवे हू ।
 सच्चा राह मुहमद वाला बाहू जाऐ विच रख लभाऐ हू ॥

*Eh dil hijar firaqon sarda, eh dam mare na jive hu,
Sachcha rah Muhammad wala bahu jae wich rabb labhaye hu.*

(This heart burns because of separation (from the Beloved), neither it dies nor lives, O He; the true path is the path of Muhammad, says Bahu, in which God is found, O He.)

Bahu has explained the condition of a Sufi who is in complete love with his Beloved in the following, heart-rending, verse -

ع - عاشق پڑھن نماز پریم دی جس ویج حرف نہ کوئی ہو
جیہا کہیا اُو نہیت نہ سکے اوتھے درد منداں دل ڈھوئی ہو
اکھیں نیر تے خون جگر دا اوتھے وضو پاک کر لوی ہو
باجو صیجہ نہ لے تے ہونٹ نہ پھر کن خاص نمازی کوئی ہو

ऐन आशक पढ़न नमाज़ प्रेम दी जिस विच हरफ ना कोई हू ।
जेहा केहा ओ नीत ना सक्के, ओथे दरद मन्दौ दिल ढोही हू ।
अक्खीं नीर ते खून जिगर दा ओथे वुजू पाक करीयोई हू ।
बाहू, जीभ ना हिल्ले ते होठें ना फड़कन खास नमाज़ी कोई हू ॥

Ain *Ashaq padhan namaz prem di jis wich haraf na koi hu,
Jeha keha oh neet na sakke otthe dard mandan dil dhohi hu;
Akkhin nir te khun jigat da otthe wuzu pak karevi hu,
Bahu, jibh na hille te honth na phadkan, khas namazi koi hu.*

(**Ain** : The lovers read *namaz* (prayer) of love, which has no word, O He; whatever is said he cannot bear, there only the deep feeling of the heart matters, O He; at last tears in the eyes and blood in the heart do the *wuzu* (ablutions) for cleansing there, O He; Bahu (in that state) neither the tongue moves nor the lips tremble and there is no special sayer of prayer, O He.)

In the same vein, Bahu held that the Beloved will be found only if you annihilate (*fana*) yourself and merge with the Lord which he has explained in the following verse -

میں - یارِ نیکانہ مل سہ تینوں جے سردی بازی لائیں ہو
عشقِ اللہ وچ ہو مستانہ ہو ہوسدا الا میں ہو
نال تصور رسم اللہ دے دم نوں قید لگائیں ہو
ڈالتے نال جاں ڈالتے رلیا تہا جو نام سدا میں ہو

ये यार यगाना मिल सी तैनू जे सर दी बाज़ी लाई हू ।
इश्क अल्लाह विच हो मसताना हू हू सदा अलाई हू ।
नाल तरस्सवर इस्म अल्लाह दे दम नू कैद लागाई हू ।
जाते नाल जाँ ज़ाते रलया तद बाहू नाम सदाई हू ॥

Ye *Yar yagana mil si tainun je sar di baazi lain hu,
Ishq allah wich ho mastana hu hu sada alain hu,
Nal tassawar ism allah de dum nun qaid lagain hu,
Zate nal jan zate rallia tad bahu naam sadain hu.*

(**Ye** : The Unique Friend will be found by you if you sacrifice your head for his sake, O He; in the love of God you should merge completely and speak aloud Hu Hu (attribute of God), O He; in the imagination of the name of God, if you arrest (hold) your breath, O He; you mingle with the Divine Beloved, then only Bahu, you should be called Hu (God).)

Bahu has explained the condition of the world in a very poignant verse where he gives the condition of different types of seekers of Truth. He says -

۵۔ یک جاگن یک جاگن یک جاگن یک جاگدیاں دی مٹے ہو
 یک ستیاں ہی جاو اصل ہوئے یک جاگدیاں دی مٹے ہو
 کیہ ہویا جگھو جاگے اوہ لیندا ساہ اُپٹے ہو
 میس قربان تنہاں دے باہو تنہاں کھوہ یکم دے جتے ہو

हे हिक जागन हिक जाग ना जागन हिक जागदेयाँ वी सुत्ते हू ।
हिक सुत्तियाँ ही जा वासल होऐ हिक जागदेयाँ वी मुठ्ठे हू ।

क्या होया जे घुगू जागे ओह लैन्दा साह उपठे हू ।
मै कुरबान तिन्हें तो बाहू जिन्हें खू प्रेम दे जुते हू ॥

He *Hikk jagan hikk jag na jagan hikk jag dean wi sutte hu,
Hikk suddian hi ja wasal hoe hikk jagdian wi mutthe hu,
Ki hoye je ghughoo jage, oh lehnda sah upatthe hu,
Main qurban tinhan de bahu, jinhan khoo prem de jutte hu.*

(**He** : There are those who are awake, there are those while waking are not awake and there are those who are awake yet asleep, O He; there are those who while sleeping attained the union with the Lord and there are those who while awake betrayed, O He; what is the use if the bugle awakes you and makes you breathless ? O He; I sacrifice for them, Bahu, who have served at the wells of Love (Divine), O He.)

Purity without the purity of the Lord is uncleanness. It is not by professing religion that one can attain salvation, but by loving the Almighty God. In the following couplet, Bahu has described the elect-one in an exquisite manner.

ج - جو پاک بِن پاک ماہی دے، سو پاک کی جان پلّیتی ہو
بک بت خانے جا واسل ہو، بک خالی رہے مسیّتی ہو

जीम जो पाकी बिन पाक माही दे सो पाकी जान पलीती हू ।
हिक बुत-खाने जा वासल होए हिक खाली रहे मसीती हू ॥

Jim *Jo paki bin pak mahi de, so paki jaan paliti hu,
Hikk butt-khane ja wasal hoye, hik khali rahe masiti hu.*

(**Jim** : Those who are pure, without the purity of the Beloved, consider their purity to be impurity, O He; some have achieved Union (with the Beloved) in the idol-house, others have even failed in the mosque, O He.)

Sultan Bahu was a poet of intense spiritual and mystical love. He was against any kind of fanaticism and bigotry. He wrote his poems of mystical love for the Divine Beloved within the frame-work of Islam using Islamic symbology. His extant Punjabi compositions abound in deep religious outlook and amply prove that he was a highly learned poet. What made them unique was his evocative and emotive style. Sultan Bahu's verses, from the literary point of view, form a landmark in the evolution of Punjabi literature and Sufi poetry.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Manaaqab-i-Sultani*, p. 125.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
3. Maula Baksh Kushta, *Punjabi Shairaan da Tazkira* p. 80.
4. *Manaaqab-i-Sultani*, p. 126
5. Maula Baksh Kushta, *op. cit.*, p. 80
6. *Manaaqab-i-Sultani*, p. 40. Also mentioned by L. Rama Krishna in *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 48.
7. Shamin Choudhury, *Punjabi Adab-o-Tarikh*, p. 69.
8. L. Rama Krishna (*op. cit.*, p. 48) writes that Baghdad was a village on the banks of Ravi which is erroneous. According to Kushta, this Habibullah was, perhaps, of Ramdas in Amritsar district. In all probability, this Hazrat Habibullah belonged to Multan.
9. Maula Baksh Kushta, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
10. *Tawarikh-i-Sultan Bahu* written by Sultan Baksh Qadari, pp. 8-9.
11. L. Rama Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

BULLEH SHAH

Great and Poets of The Punjab

NOTES AND REFERENCES

BULEN SHAH

BULLEH SHAH SUFİ POET PAR EXCELLENCE (1680—1758 A.D.)

The greatest among the Sufis of the Punjab has been Bulleh Shah (1680 - 1758 A.D.). He was not only a Punjabi poet par excellence but also a great Sufi of the philosophic and the pantheistic school of Sufism who believed in the *Advaita* concept of God, ignored conversions, and was tolerant of all other religions. Bulleh Shah, in his sufistic attainments, is quite comparable to the renowned Sufis of Persia, such as Bayazid (Abu Yazid) Bistami, Mansur al-Hallaj (of *An'al-Haqq* fame), Jalaluddin Rumi and Shamsi Tabrizi; and, in his poetic achievements, to Sa'adi, Hafiz and other classical poets of Persia. He is the foremost and the best in the allegorical interpretation of his passionate spiritualism in chaste Punjabi language. He also represents that strong and living pious nature of Punjabi character which is more reasonable than emotional.

In Panduke, near Kasur in Lahore district, in 1680 A.D., a son was born to Sakhi Muhammad who was named Abdullah but was affectionately called Bullah.¹ Sakhi Muhammad traced his descent from Gilani Sayyids of Bahawalpur. He came to Panduke and became a Maulavi.²

Like all great men, there are many anecdotes related to the birth and childhood of Bullah but certain it is that from very early age, he had shown many proofs of his extraordinary perception and ability and religious bent of mind. As he grew older, he was placed under the tutorship of a renowned teacher, Maulavi Ghulam Murtaza of Kasur, from whom he learnt the basics of education and acquired elementary knowledge of Sufism.³

According to tradition, it is said that on attaining youth, one day while roaming around, he came to Batala in Gurdaspur district, another

important seat of Islamic studies in the Punjab in those days. Here like Mansur al-Hallaj, a great Sufi of Persia of the *Ana'l-Haqq* fame, Bullah is reported to have uttered '*I am Allah*' (I am God). The utterance of these blasphemous words was too much for the orthodox Muslims of Batala who promptly took him to the highly learned Sheikh Fazaluddin of their township.⁴ Perceiving extra-ordinary Sufistic leanings of Bullah, Sheikh Fazaluddin explained to Bullah's detractors that Bullah was right. "*He is Alha*" *الها* (which, literally, means *alhar*, *الهر* unbaked or immature). He also recommended that to make him mature and properly groomed, Bullah should be sent to Shah Inayat, a Sufi of renown.⁵ Shah Inayat, by profession was *arain* *ارائیں* (cultivator), who also originally belonged to Kasur but because of differences with the Pathan governor Husain Khan there, had left his native place and came over to Lahore where he followed his profession and also pursued Sufism. He was a highly venerated Sufi of the Qadariya order.⁶ Accordingly, Bullah, in search of Shah Inayat, came to Lahore.

There are interesting anecdotes related to Bullah's first meeting with his future preceptor.

According to one tradition, when Bullah reached Shah Inayat's place, the latter was sowing onions in his fields. Bullah told Shah Inayat that he had come to him to find the path of reaching God, whereupon Shah Inayat, impromptu, told him -

بھیسیر رب دا کی پانا ای
ایدروں پٹنا تے او دروں لانا ای

बुल्लया रब दा की पाना ई
ऐदरीं पुट्ठा ते ओदरीं लाना ई

Bullia rabb da ki pana ee
*Edhron puttna te odharon lane ee.*⁷

(Oh Bullah, the secret of God is this: on this side He uproots, on the other side He creates.)

Bullah was so deeply impressed by this utterance that he fell on the feet of Shah Inayat and took him as his spiritual preceptor.

According to another tradition, quoted by L. Ramakrishna in *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, it is said that Shah Inayat was the head gardener of Shalimar

Gardens at Lahore. When in Lahore, Bulleh Shah visited the gardens, and, as it was summer, he roamed around in the mago-groves. Looking at the ripe mangoes, Bullah wanted to taste them and therefore looked around for the gardener in order to seek his permission to take a few mangoes. When he could not find the gardener and, to avoid the sin of stealing, he cried aloud "*Allah Ghani*" اللہ غنی whereupon a ripe mango fell into his hand. He repeated the magic words and each time a mango fell. He collected a few mangoes and as he was about to make himself comfortable in a corner, to taste the fruit thus collected, the head gardener appeared on the scene and accused him of stealing the mangoes. Bullah, who was Sayyid, considered the gardener a man of low origin, wanted to demonstrate his occult powers and very emphatically declared that he had not stolen the mangoes but the mangoes had fallen into his hands. He repeated the word "*Allah Ghani*" and a mangoe fell into his hands. To Bullah's great surprise, the head gardener was not at all impressed but kept on smiling innocently. Then the head gardener chided Bullah and told him that he did not know how to pronounce properly the holy words which reduces their power. So saying, the head gardener uttered "*Allah Ghani*", and lo ! all the fruits in the gardens fell on the lawns. Once again he repeated the same words and the fruits went back on the trees. This defeat inflicted by the head gardener, whom Sayyid Bullah considered ignorant and low, so deeply affected Bullah that he at once fell at the feet of the head gardener, who was none else than Shah Inayat himself, the famous Sufi belonging to the Qadariya *silsila*, and sought to be classed as his disciple which request was immediately granted.⁸

Be that as it may, Bullah was greatly impressed by the greatness of Shah Inayat and considered himself to be fortunate enough for having met such a *murshid*. He says -

میں نے شاہ جو دے نیچ کینی
شاہ غایت تارے

बुल्ला शाहू वे नीच कमीनी शाह इनायत तारे !

*Bullah shahu we neech kamini shah inayat tare !*⁹

(Bullah says that he is low and mean but Lord Inayat will save him.)

And again he says-

بلھے شاہ دی سنو حکایت
ہادی پکڑیا ہوگ ہدایت
میرامشد شاہ عنایت
اوہو منگھاوے پار

बुल्ले शाह दी सुनो हकायत
हादी पकड़ियाँ होग हदायत
मेरा मुरशद शाह इनायत
ओहो लन्चावे पार !

*Bulleh Shah di sunno hakait
Hadi pakrian hog hadait !
Mera murshid Shah Inayat
Oh langai par !!¹⁰*

(Listen to the story of Bulleh Shah, he has got hold of a teacher and shall have salvation. My teacher, Shah Inayat, will take me across.)

Hazrat Sheikh Muhammad Inayatullah, popularly known as Shah Inayat Qadari, was born at Kasur. It would appear that he was a contemporary of Emperor Aurangzeb and perhaps saw a part of the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan. The *Wazai-i-Kalaan* gives the year of his death as 1735 A.D., during the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah. He had acquired a good knowledge of Persian and Arabic. As he was born with a mystic disposition, he became a disciple of the famous Sufi scholar Muhammad Ali Raza Shattari.¹¹ As earlier mentioned, because of differences with the Hakim of Kasur, Husain Khan, he migrated to Lahore where he established an institution of his own. In this institution came men of education for advanced learning in philosophy, Sufism and other spiritual sciences of the time.

Qadaris of the Punjab were known for their philosophic studies and were even inclined towards Hindu philosophy. In *Dastur-al-Amal*, Shah Inayat has described various methods Hindus employed for attainment of salvation in ancient times. According to him this knowledge was acquired and carried by the Greeks after Alexander's invasion of India, from where

it was borrowed by the ancient Persians and subsequently adopted by the mystics of Islamic countries.¹²

Shah Inayat wrote considerably on Sufism and its developments. His writings were mostly in Persian.¹³ He was an erudite scholar whom Bulleh Shah made his *hadi* or guru. The action of Bullah was highly displeasing to his family who tried to dissuade him to give up Shah Inayat and find another *murshid*. But Bullah was firm and paid no heed to them. The following will show the indignation of the family -

بُلیجہ نون سمجھا دن آئیاں بہنیاں تے بھر جائیاں
آل نبی اولاد علی دی بُلیجیا توں کی لیکیاں لائیاں
من ے بُلیجیا ساڈا کہنا چھ دے پلا رائیاں

बुल्ले नू समझावन आइयाँ बहना ते भरजाइयाँ
आल नबी औलाद अली दी बुल्लिया तूँ की लीकाँ लाईयाँ
मन लै बुल्लिया साडा कहना छड दे पल्ला राईयाँ ।

*Bulleh nun samjhawān aiyan behanan te bharjaiyan,
Al nabi aulad ali di bullia tun ki likaan laiyan,
Mann lai bullia sada kehna chhad de palla raiyan !¹⁴*

(To Bullah sisters and sisters-in-law came to advise. Why, O Bullah, have you smeared the family of the Prophet and the descendants of Ali (by being a disciple of Shah Inayat)? Listen to us, Bullah, and leave the skirt of the *arain* (farmer).

To this reproach Bullah firmly replies :

جیڑا سانوں سید آکھے دوزخ ملن سجااں
جیڑا سانوں راین آکھے بہشتی پینکاں پائیاں
جے توں لوڑیں باغ بہاراں بُلیجیا طاں ہجائیاں

जेहड़ा सानू सईयद आखे दोज़ख मिलन सजाइयाँ
जेड़ा सानू राई आखे बहशती पीगाँ पाईयाँ
जे तूँ लोड़ै बाग बहाराँ बुल्लिया तालब होजा राईयाँ ।

*Jehra sanu sayyid akkhe dozakh miln sajaiyan,
Jehra sanu rain akkhe bahishti peengaan paiyan
Je tun lore bag baharan Bulliah talib hoja raiyan !¹⁵*

(He who calls me a Sayyid, shall be punished in Hell; he who calls me an *arain* (farmer) shall have swings in Heaven; O Bullah, if you want pleasures of the garden become a disciple of *arain*.)

When all the persuasions failed, the family had no alternative but to leave Bullah alone. It is said that only one of his sisters understood him and supported him in his spiritual pursuits and search for the truth.¹⁶

Bullah came over and lived with his teacher and tried to master the secrets of his teachings. Thus began the mystic career of Bulleh Shah.

There were, broadly speaking, three phases in the life of Bulleh Shah. In the first phase which commenced with his becoming a disciple of Shah Inayat, he spent more of his time in deep study and also wrote verses in Punjabi language which are rather simple, yet sometimes emotional and sentimental, and simply betray the sensibilities of a novice whose thoughts, expressions and poetic accomplishments have yet to mature as can be observed from the following extract from a famous *Kafi* composed by Bulleh Shah -

دل لوچے ماہی یار نوں دل لوچے ماہی یار نوں
اک ہس ہس گلاں کردیاں اک روز دلیں دھندیاں پھر دیاں
کہیو پھلی بنت بہار نوں
دل لوچے ماہی یار نوں
میں نہاتی دھرتی رہ گئی اک گنڈھ ماہی دل بہ گئی
بھا لائی ہار شنگار نوں
دل لوچے ماہی یار نوں
میں دُتیاں گھائل کیتیاں سولاں گھیر چڑیوں بیتیاں
گھر آوے ماہی دیدار نوں
دل لوچے ماہی یار نوں
بٹھا ہن سا بن گھر آیا میں گھٹ رانجھن گل لایا
دیکھ گئے مسندروں پار نوں
دل لوچے ماہی یار نوں

दिल लोचे माही यार नू
 दिल लोचे माही यार नू
 इक हस हस गल्लाँ करदीयाँ इक रोन्दीयाँ धोन्दीयाँ फिरदीयाँ
 कहीयो फुली बसतँ बहार नू
 दिल लोचे माही यार नू
 मैं नहाती धोती रह गई इक गढँ माही दिल बह गई
 भा लाई हार श्रगाँर नू
 दिल लोचे माही यार नू
 मैं दुतियाँ घायल कीतियाँ सूलाँ घेर चौफेरौं लीतियाँ
 घर आवे माही दीदार नू
 दिल लोचे माही यार नू
 बुल्ला हुन साजन घर आया मैं घुट राजनन गल लाया
 देख गए समुन्द्रौं पार नू
 दिल लोचे माही यार नू

Dil loche mahi yar nun,

Dil loche mahi yar nun !

Ikk hass hass gallan kardian, ikk rondian dhondian phirdian

Kahio phulli basant bahar nun

Dil loche mahi yar nun !

Mein nahti dhoti reh gayee, ikk gandh mahi dil beh gayee,

Bhah lai har shinghar nun

Dil loche mahi yar nun !

Mein dutian ghayal keetian, Sulaan gher chaupheron littian,

Ghar awe mahi deedar nun

Dil loche mahi yar nun !

Bullah hun sajan ghar aya, mein ghutt ranjhan gall laya,

Dekh gaey samundaron par nun

Dil loche mahi yar nun !¹⁷

(Heart craves for friend beloved, heart craves for friend beloved. Some (lovers) laugh and laughingly converse, others crying and wailing wander, say in this season of Spring. Heart craves, for friend beloved.

I washed and bathed in vain, one knot (grudge) has settled in my heart. O Beloved (for not coming), I put fire to my cosmetics. Heart craves, for friend beloved.

I am wounded by taunts, terrible pains have surrounded me, I await the manifestation of my Beloved. Heart craves, for friend beloved.

Bullah, now the friend has come, I have embraced hard my Ranjha (God), behold us crossing the ocean. Heart craves, for friend beloved.)

In this phase, Bullah was confined to his strict Islamic theological ideas which, in the subsequent phase, he shook off completely. He still believed in the idea of heaven, hell and earth as he says -

بہا شاہو بن کوئی نہیں ایتھے اوٹھے دو ہی سراے
سنبھل سنبھل قدم نکالیں پھر آون دوجی وار نہیں
اٹھ جاگ گھراڑے مار نہیں

बुल्ले शाहू बिन कोई नहीं ऐथे ओथे दो ही सराए
संभल संभल कदम टिकाईं फिर आवन दूजी वार नहीं
उठ जाग घुराड़े मार नहीं

*Bullah shauh bin koi nahin aitthe otthe do hi sarae,
Sambhal sambhal kadam tikain phir awan duji war nahin,
Utth jag ghurare mar nahin !¹⁸*

("Bullah, without Lord, there is no one here (earth) or there (heaven and hell). Carefully, carefully let your step fall because for a second time you shall not come. Awake arise and snore no more.)

During the same period, Bullah appears to have been scared of death and the grave, as he says -

اٹھ جاگ گھراڑے مار نہیں
اے سون تیرے درکار نہیں
اک روز جہانوں جانا ہے
تیرا گوشت کیڑیاں کھانا ہے
کر چیتا منوں و سار نہیں
اٹھ جاگ گھراڑے مار نہیں

उठ जाग घुराड़े मार नहीं
 ऐ सौन तेरे दरकार नहीं
 इक रोज जहानो जाना है
 तेरा गोश्त कीड़ियाँ खाना है
 कर चेता मनो विसार नहीं
 उठ जाग घुराड़े मार नहीं

*Utth jag ghurare mar nahin
 Eh saun tere darkar nahin
 Ikk roz jahano jana hai
 Tera gosht kirian khana hai
 Kar cheta mano visar nahin
 Utth jag ghurare mar nahin !⁹*

(Awake, arise and snore no more; this sleep is not needed by you. One day you have to part from this world, in the grave you have to fit, your flesh will be eaten by the insects; remember this, do not forget your heart's desire (of meeting the Lord). Awake, arise and snore no more.)

Bulleh Shah was still convinced that one comes to this world to lead a life and he has to achieve his objective in this life only, as he says -

रेन गयी लिशके सब तारे अब तो जाग मुसाफिर प्यारे
 तैं अज्जे ना सुनयों कूच नक्कारे
 कर लै अज्ज करन दा बेरा बुहड़ ना होसी आवन तेरा
 अब तो जाग मुसाफिर प्यारे

रैन गई लिशके सब तारे अब तो जाग मुसाफिर प्यारे
 तैं अज्जे ना सुनयों कूच नक्कारे
 कर लै अज्ज करन दा बेरा बुहड़ ना होसी आवन तेरा
 अब तो जाग मुसाफिर प्यारे

*Rein gaiyee lishke sab tare Ab to jag musafir piare
 Tain ajje na suniyon kuch naqqare*

*Kar lai ajj karan da bera Bohar na hosi awan tera
Ab to jag musafir piare !²⁰*

(The night has passed when the stars twinkled; now awake dear passenger. It seems you have not heard the last post; do today what you have been sent to do, because you shall not return. Now awake dear passenger.)

Bullah does not yet believe in the doctrine of transmigration of soul which, later on, of course, he will accept as part of Advaitism. He says -

توں ایس جہانوں جائے گی
فیر قدم نہ ایتھے پائے گی
اے جو بن روپ وںجائے گی
تیں رہنا وںج سانسار نہیں

तूं ऐस जहानों जाऐ गी
फेर कदम ना ऐथे पाऐ गी
ऐ जोबन रुप वन्जाऐ गी
तैं रहना विच सँसार नहीं ।

*Tun es jahano jaegee
Pher kadam na etthe paegee
Eh joban rup vanjhaegee
Tain rehna wich sansar nahin !²¹*

(From this world you will depart, never again to put your feet here; your youth and beauty shall be wasted as you are not going to live (for ever) in the world.)

In the first phase of his mystic life, Bulleh Shah was very much confined to strict Islamic code and, therefore, sang only within the parameters of his professed beliefs. But this phase of his mystic life does not appear to have lasted long.

In the second phase of his mystic life which began soon after the first, Bullah Shah's outlook broadened and he assimilated more of Indian thought, especially Vaishnava philosophy in his adoration of his Guru or

Murshid whom he places on the level of God and, with broadened outlook, his poetry also matured considerably in thought and force of character. The following verse resembles closely the Vaishnava idea and emotion -

اک اندھیری کوٹھری درجا دیوانہ باقی
 باہوں کپڑے چلے کوئی سنگ نہ ساتھی

इक अनधेरी कोठड़ी दूजा दीवा ना बाती
 बाहों पकड़ जम लै चले कोई सगँ ना साथी ।

Ikk andheri kothari duja diva na bati
*Bahon pakar jum lai chale koi sang na sathi.*²²

(There is one dark chamber (world) without any lamp or wick (hope). Holding my wrist messengers of death are taking me unaccompanied and companionless.)

During the reign of Aurangzeb and soon thereafter, the political situation of the times was against all liberal thought and especially against the Sufis of Qadariya order of Shah Inayat's. His preceptor, Shah Inayat, forbade Bulleh Shah to speak freely and openly against the established Muhammadan beliefs. But Bullah did not pay any heed to the valuable advice of his master as is quite clear from his following utterances -

بُلیے نوں لوک مٹی دیندے بلھیا توں جا بیٹھ مسیتی
 وِیج مسیتاں دے کی کُجھ ہوندا جو دلوں نماز نہ کیتی
 باہروں پاک کیے کیہ ہوندا جو اندروں گئی نہ پلیتی
 بن مرشد کامل بلھیا تیری ایویں گئی عبادت کیتی
 بھٹھ نمازاں تے جکڑ روزے کلمے تے پھر گئی سیاہی
 بٹھا شاہ شوہ اندر ملیا بھلی پھرے لوکاں

बुल्ले नू लोक मती देन्दे बुल्लिया तूँ जा बैठ मसीती
 विच मसीताँ दे की कुझ होन्दा जो दिलौं नमाज़ ना कीती
 बाहरौं पाक कीते की होन्दा जो अन्दरौं गई ना पलीती
 बिन मुरशद कामल बुल्लिया तेरी ऐवै गई इबादत कीती
 भठ नमाज़ाँ ते चिकड़ रोज़े कलमे ते फिर गई सियाही
 बुल्ला शाह शऊ अन्दर मिलेया भुल्ली फिरे लोकाई ।

*Bulleh nun lok matti dende bulliah tun ja baith masiti
 Wichch masitan de kih kujh honda jo dilo namaz na kiti
 Bahron pak kite kih hunda jo andron gai na paliti
 Bin murshid kamil bulliah teri ainwen gaiyee ibadat kiti
 Bhath namazan te chikkar roze kalme te phir gaiyee siahi
 Bulleh Shah shauh andron milia bhulli phire lukai. ²³*

(To Bullah people give advice that O Bullah go and sit in the mosque; what is the use of going to the mosque, if the heart has not said the prayer? What matters it being pure outside when from inside impurity has not gone? Without a perfect master, says Bullah, your prayers have gone in vain. Throw the prayers in the fire and *roze* (fasts in the month of *Ramzan*) in quagmire ! Over the *Kalma* black ink has passed. Bulleh Shah says that the Lord is met from within, but the ignorant people are searching elsewhere.)

Again Bulleh Shah says -

بھلا پی شراب تے کھا کباب!
 ہیتھ بال ہڈان دی آگ
 چوری کرتے بھن گھر رب دا
 اوس ٹھگان دے ٹھگ نون ٹھگ

बुल्ला पी शराब ते खा कबाब
 हेठ बाल हड्डा दी आग
 चोरी कर ते भन घर रब दा
 ओस ठागाँ दे ठग नू ठग ।

*Bullah pi sharab te khha kabab !
 Heth baal haddan di aag,
 Chori kar te bhann ghar rabb da
 Os thaggan de thagg nun thagg !²⁴*

(Bullah drink wine and eat *kababs* and underneath light the fire with bones; steal and break the house of God and in this manner cheat the Great Cheater (God).)

Bullah was against all forms, formalities and normally accepted religious rituals which he emphatically denounced in his following verse -

بھوک مصلیٰ بھن سٹ لوٹا
 نہ پھر تسبیح عاصا سوٹا
 عاشق کہندے دے دے ہوکا
 ترک حلاوٹ کھا مردار
 عشق دی نولیوں نولی بہار
 جاں میں سبق عشق دا پڑھیا
 جیوڑا مسجد کولوں ڈریا
 ڈیرے جاٹھا کر دے وڑیا
 جتھے وجدے ناد ہزار
 عشق دی نولیوں نولی بہار
 دید قرآن پڑھ پڑھ تھکے
 سجدے کردیاں گھس گئے متھے
 نہ رب نیرتھ نہ رب مکے
 جن پایا تیس نور جمال
 عشق دی نولیوں نولی بہار

فوک मुस्सल्ला भन सुट लोटा
 ना फड़ तसबीह आसा सोटा
 आशक कहन्दे दे दे होका
 तरक हलालीं खा मुरदार
 इश्क दी नवीयाँ नवी बहार !

जाँ मैं सबक इश्क दा पढ़या
 ज्योड़ा मसजद कोलीं डरया
 डेरे जा ठाकर दे वड़या
 जित्थे वजदे नाद हज़ार
 इश्क दी नवीयाँ नवी बहार !

वेद कुरान पढ़े पढ़ थकें
 सजदे करदेयाँ घिस गए मथे
 ना रब तीरथ ना रब मकें
 जिन पाया तिस नूर जमाल
 इश्क दी नवीयाँ नवी बहार ॥

*Phook musalla bhann sutt lota
Na pharr tasbih aasa sota
Ashiq kehnde de de hauka
Tarak halalon kha murdar
Ishq di naviyon navi bahar !*

*Jan mein sabaq ishq da padhia
Jeura masjid kolon dariya
Dere ja thakur de warriya
Jitthe wajde nad hazaar
Ishq di naviyon navi bahar !*

*Ved quran padhe padh thakke
Sajde kardian ghiss gaye matthe
Na rabb tirath na rabb makke
Jin paya tis nur jamal
Ishq di naviyon navi bahar !²⁵*

(Burn the prayer carpet and break the vessel for doing *wuzu* (ablutions); neither hold rosary nor hold the staff. Lovers speak aloud to rid of false distinctions. (It) is the newest spring of love (Divine).

(When I read the lesson of Love (Divine), I got scared of the mosque and I went to the temple where thousand bells toll. (It) is the newest spring of Love (Divine).)

(I am tired of reading Veds and Quran (Holy books) and by paying repeated obeisance, my forehead is rubbed; God is found neither at pilgrimages nor is He found at Mecca. Whoever has found Him, it is from within him. (It) is the newest spring of Love (Divine).)

Such utterances of Bulleh Shah greatly annoyed his master, Shah Inayat, who practised *Haqiqat* (reality) in the veil of *Tariqat* (the established path of Islam) in order to escape the fate of many Sufis of Islamic countries who had to sacrifice their lives for their professed beliefs, such as Mansur al-Hallaj (of *Ana'l-Haqq* fame) and Shamsi Tabrizi. Bullah, being a new

convert to Sufism, did not pay much heed to the advice of his master which greatly disturbed the latter who sent Bullah away and refused to see him again.

After some time, Bullah, realising the truth of his master's advice, regretted and wanted to go back to his spiritual preceptor. He tried all sorts of devices but Shah Inayat ignored him.

Bullah's adoration and respect for his *murshid* were profound. For him no difference existed between his *hadi* and God. In this period of separation from his preceptor, Bulleh Shah composed some *Kafis*, such as -

دُت نہ کر ساں من را نہجے تے یار دا دے اڑیا
 عشق اللہ دی ذات لوکاں دامینہ کئی دل کراں پکار کسے نہیں رہنا
 اُسے دا حال ایہو جانے کون کوئی دم ماردا دے اڑیا

वत ना करसाँ मन राँझे ते यार दा वे अड़या
 इश्क अल्लाह दी ज़ात लोकाँ दा मेहना कई वल करँ पुकार किसे नहीं रहना
 उसे दा हाल ऐहो जाने कौन कोई दम मारदा वे अड़या ।

Watt na karsan mann ranjhe te yar da we aria
Ishq allah di zat lokan da mehna,
Kai wal karan pukar kise nahin rehna;
*Use da hal oho jane, kaun koi dam marda we aria.*²⁶

(Never shall I pride for my Ranjha (God), O comrade; love is an attribute of God but for the people, it is a taunt. To whom shall I call as no one shall live eternally; His condition He alone knows, who is there who can live for ever, O comrade.)

Again Bulleh Shah says -

توہیں دردِ رنجہا نی دا	دردِ دہو نی پئی درتیرے
عشق دہا جوں کوئی نہ لوکا	کوٹھے چڑھیاں میں ہوکا
جنگل بستی ملے نہ ٹھور	اسدا مول نہ کھانا دھوکا
اچن چیتے پئی گل بھائی	دے دیدار ہو یا جدرابی
مینوں ملیا ٹھگ لاہور	ڈھا دھی کیتی بے پرواہی

दरद दहोनी पई दर तेरे
कोठे चढ़ाँ मैं होका
इस दा मोल ना खाना धोका
दे दीदार होया जद राही
डाडी कीती बे परवा ही

*Dard dahoni payee dar tere
Kothe chardian main hoka
Is da mol na khana dhoka
De deedar hoya jad rahi
Dadhy kiti be parwahi*

तूँ ही दरद रँझानी दा
इश्क वहाजौ कोई ना लोका
जँगल बसती मिले ना ठोर
अचन चेती पई गल फाही
मैनु मिलया ठग लाहौर ।

*Tun hain dard ranjhani da
Ishq wahajo koi na loka
Jungal basti mile na thor
Achchan cheti payee gull phahi
Mainun milia thagg lahore.*

(With pains (of separation) I am lying at your door, (of the master), only you can cure my pains; when I climb upstairs I become breathless as love does not remain hidden. One should not be deceived because there is no comfort either in solitude (jungle) or in company (habitation); when he (my master) stopped showing himself, all of a sudden this problem has arisen; I was extremely careless, I met cheater of Lahore (my master).

When all attempts failed, Bullah was greatly concerned and did not know how to approach his master for conciliation. He knew his master's love for music and dancing. He learnt playing on *sarangi*. One day when Shah Inayat was about to enter mosque for offering *namaz*, Bulleh Shah, donning woman's clothes, holding *sarangi* in his hands, began to sing and dance outside the mosque to attract his master by singing the following *Kafi* -

पहली प्लुरी परियम दी पल सیرت ڈیرا
حاجی مکے حج کرن میں منکھ دیکھاں تیرا
تیں باجھوں میرا کون ہے دل دھڑکے میرا
آؤ عنایت قادری جی چاہے میرا
میں اڈیاں کر رہی کدی آکرے پھیرا
ڈھونڈ شہر سب بھالیا قاصد گھلاں کیڑا
چڑھی آں ڈولی پریم دی دل دھڑکے میرا
آؤ عنایت قادری جی چاہے میرا

पहली पौड़ी प्रेम दी पुल सीरते डेरा
हाजी मक्के हज्र करन मैं मुख देखौं तेरा
तैं बाझौं मेरा कौन है दिल ढाहो ना मेरा
आओ इनायत कादरी जी चाहे मेरा ।

मैं उडीकाँ कर रही कदी आकरे फेरा
दूँ शहर सब भालिया कासद घल्लाँ केहड़ा
चदी आँ डोली प्रेम दी दिल धड़के मेरा
आओ इनायत कादरी जी चाहे मेरा ॥

*Pehili pauri prem di pul-sirate dera
Hajji makke hajj karan main mukhkh dekhān tera
Tain bajhon mera kaun hai dil dhao na mera
Aao inayat qadari ji chahe mera !*

*Main uddikan kar rahi kadi aa kare phera
Doondh shehar sabh bhalia kasad ghallan kera
Charhi an doli prem di dil dharke mera
Aao inayat qadari ji chahe mera !!²⁷*

(The first step on the ladder of love is like being on Pul Sirat (*Siratul Mustaquim* of the Quran). Hajjis may perform pilgrimage at Mecca, but I look to your face. Without you no one is mine so don't break my heart; come Inayat Qadari, my heart desires you.

I am waiting in the hope that some time you will visit me. I have looked around the town and what messenger should I send ? I am now sitting in the palanquin of love and my heart is palpitating; come Inayat Qadari, my heart desires you).

This was enough for Shah Inayat to know who was the singer. Coming closer, he enquired, "Are you Bullah?" The singer replied, "No, Hazrat, I am *Bhulla* (repentent)."²⁸ Shah Inayat forgave Bullah and embraced him. He once again came to live with his master and remained with him till his end. Shah Inayat died in 1735 A.D., and Bulleh Shah inherited his mantle and became his *gaddi-nashin* in which position he remained for

the next twenty odd years and carried on, admirably well, the Sufistic work. On his death in 1758 A.D., Bullah was buried at Kasur where an impressive mausoleum was built which is quite close to the Railway Station and every year in the month of Muharram, Urs Sharif is held to this day.

In this second phase of his mystic life, Bulleh Shah started believing in the doctrines of transmigration and reincarnation and also adopted the theory of *Karma* (action).²⁹ Theory of *Karma* is, in fact, alien to Sufism but many Indian Sufis, and almost all the Punjabi Sufis, under Hindu intellectual and philosophical influences, adopted the doctrines of transmigration and reincarnation and supplemented with the theory of *Karma*, in the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth centuries. Bulleh Shah says -

وید پوتھی کی دوش ہے، ہینے کرم ہمارے
वेद पोथी की दोश है, हीने करम हमारे

*Ved pothi ki dosh hai, hine karam hamare.*³⁰

(There is no fault in the book Ved, my *karmas*—actions are low).

At the close of the second phase of Bullah's mystic life, it can be surmised from his various compositions that he, perhaps, had intermittent visions of the Lord which the Sufi strives to achieve, guided by the Will of God, by passing through various stages (*maqamat*) and states (*ahwal*) in his pilgrimage to reach the Divine Beloved and thus attain union with Him. Bulleh Shah had the vision which the Sufis long to have, but he had not as yet attained that stage where differences do not exist. His vision of the Lord was obtained in the orthodox fashion and was tinged with the colours of Islam. He, therefore, sang of this vision, in the traditional way, exalting the Prophet :

ہم میں کھیا سوہنیا یا جس دے حسن و اکرم بازار
جد آحد اک اکلاسی، نہ ظاہر کوئی تجلّی سی
نہ رب رسول نہ اللہ سی، نہ زرا بر کہار

بے چوں دا باجگنا سی بے شبہ بے نمونہ سی
 نہ کوئی رنگ نمونہ سی، مہن گناگوں ہزار
 پیارا پہن پوشاکاں آیا، آدم اپنا نام دھرایا
 اعدتوں بن احمد آیا، نبیاں دا سردار
 کن کہا فاکن کہا، بے چنی سے چوں بنایا
 امد دے وچ میم رلایا، تاں کیتا ایڈ پیا ر

हुन मैं लक्खया सोहना यार, जिस दे हुसन दा गरम बज़ार
 जद अहद इक इक्ला सी, ना ज़ाहर कोई तजल्ला सी
 ना रब्ब रसूल ना अल्लाह सी ना ज़ाबर कहार
 बे चूँ वा बा चगुना सी बेशुबा बे नमूना सी
 ना कोई रग़ै नमूना सी, हुन गुनागूँ हज़ार

प्यारा पहन पोशक़ा आया, आदम अपना नाम धराया
 अहद तो बन अहमद आया, नबीयाँ दा सरदार
 कुन कहा फ़ाकुन कहाया, बे चुनी से चूँ बनाया
 अहद दे विच भीम रलाया तौ कीता ऐड पसार

*Hun main lakkhia sohna yar, jis de husn da garam bazar
 Jad ahad ikk ikkla si, na zahar koi tajalla si
 Na rabb rasul na allah si na zaber kahar
 Be chun wa ba chaguna si, be shubha be namuna si
 Na koi rang namuna si, hun gunagun hazar.*

*Piara pehan pushakan aya, adam apna nam dharaya
 Ahad ton ban ahmad aya, nabian da sardar.
 Kun kaha fakun kahaiya, be chuni se chun banaya
 Ahad de wich mim ralaiya tan kita aid pasaar.³¹*

(Now I have seen the handsome friend whose hand-
 someness is in great demand. When the One was
 alone there was no light seen. There was neither
 God, nor Prophet nor Allah, even there was no cruel
 tyrant. The One was without likeness, was
 incomparable and without doubt and without form.
 He had no colour or shape, (but) now a thousand
 varieties.

The dear One came wearing dresses (in different appearances) and had Adam name affixed. From the One, Ahmad was made, the chief of the Prophets. He said *kun* (let it be) and *fayakun* (so it happened) was said; out of no likeness, He created likeness. In *Ahad* He inserted *mim* (to make Ahmad) and then created this universe.)

Again Bullah says -

احمد و احمد و حق فرق نہ بلتیا
رتی اک فرق مروڑی دا
لوکاں اوہناں نوں کافر آکھیا
تے اوہناں کیہا بلتیا
تینوں کافر کافر آکھدے
توں آہو آہو آکھ

अहद अहमद विच फ़रक ना बुल्लिया, रती इक फ़रक मरोड़ी दा
लोक़ां ओहना नूँ क़ाफ़र आखिया, ते ओहनाँ केहा बुल्लिया
तैनू क़ाफ़र क़ाफ़र आखदे, तूँ आहू आहू आख ।

Ahad Ahmad wich faraq na bullia, rati ikk faraq marori da;
Lokan unhan nun kafir akhia, te unhan keha bullia,
Tainun kafir kafir akhh de, tun ahu ahu aakkh !³²

(There is no difference between Ahad and Ahmad (Prophet) except of a small twist (of *mim*); people called him unbeliever and he told Bullah that even if you are declared unbeliever you should say, I am that, I am that.)

Here Bulleh Shah was in the process of becoming a firm believer in *Advaita* and started seeing the all-pervading spirit, God, in all and independently of any religion.

Third and final phase of Bulleh Shah's mystic life was extraordinary indeed. In this phase, he became a completely matured Sufi and a firm believer of Vedantic conception of God and saw omnipotent, omni-present and all-pervading Lord in all. Like true Vedantist, he saw his Lord in everything and every one, friend or foe. He seems to have won glimpses

of immortality in this mortal life by passing away from self (*fana*) into the consciousness of survival in God (*baqa*). He also appears to have achieved complete union with the Lord, a phenomenon attained by the very few elect ones, in their mortal life. In this state of complete union with the Lord, all consciousness is lost and the mystic lives ever after in and with the Universal Self. Herein, in fact, lies the greatness of Sufi poet Bulleh Shah. He says -

کی کردانی کی کردا ؟
آپ اکو کئی لکھ گھراں دے
مالک سب گھر گھرا
کی کردانی کی کردا ؟

موسى ا تے فرعون بنا کے
دو ہو کے کیوں لڑدا
کی کردانی کی کردا ؟

حاضر ناظر تو ہیں سب
چوچک کس نوں کھڑدا
کی کردانی کی کردا ؟

کی کردا نی کی کردا ؟

आप इक्को कई लख घरों दा मालक सब घर घर दा

کی کردा नी की کردा ؟

मूसा अते फ़रउन बना के दो होके क्यों लड़दा

کی کردा नी की کردा ؟

हाज़र नाज़र तूँ ही है चूचक किस नू खड़दा

کی کردा नी کی کردا ؟

Kih karda ni ki karda ?

Aap ikko kai lakkh ghardan da Malak sabh ghar ghar da

Kih karda ni ki karda ?

Musa ate pharun bana ke Do hoke kiun larda

Kih karda ni ki karda ?

Haazar naazar tuhe hain Chuchak kis nun kharda

Kih karda ni ki karda ? ³³

(What He does, friends, what He does ? He is one but there are million houses and He is the Lord of every house. What He does, friends, what he does? By making Moses and Pharaoh, becoming two, why does He fight ? What He does, friends, what he does ? Thou art omnipresent, whom does Chuchak take away ? (Here the story of Ranjha and Hir is alluded to; Chuchak, father of Hir, separated his daughter from Ranjha and kept her in close custody and, later on, gave her away in marriage to another person of his own choice.) What He does, friends, what He does ? Can some one ask what the Beloved does ?)

And again he says -

پایا ہے کج پایا ہے ، ست گورو نے اکھ لکھایا ہے
 کہوں ویر پڑا کہوں بیل ہے ، کہوں مجھوں ہے کہوں بیل ہے
 کہوں آپ گورو کہوں جیلی ہے ، اپنا رب دکھایا ہے
 کہوں مسجد کا درتارا ہے ، کہوں بنیا تھا کردوارہ ہے
 کہوں بیراگی جب دھارا ہے ، کہوں شیخاں بن بن آیا ہے
 کہوں ترک مسلی پڑھ کر ہو ، کہوں بھگت ہندو جب کرنے ہو
 کہوں گور کانی رنج پڑے ہو ، ہر گھر گھر لڈ لڈیا ہے
 بکھے شاہو دامن محتاج ہوا ، ہمارا ج ملے میرا کاج ہوا !
 درشن پیا دا علاج ہوا ، رگ عشق تاں لے گن گایا ہے
 پایا ہے کج پایا ہے

पाया है कुज पाया है
 कहूँ वैर पड़ा कहूँ बेली है
 कहूँ आप गुरु कहूँ चेली है
 कहूँ मसजद का वरतारा है
 कहूँ बैरागी जप धारा है
 कहूँ तुरक मुसल्ला पढ़ दे हो
 कहूँ गोर कानी विच पड़दे हो
 बुल्ले शहू दा मैं मोहताज हुआ
 दर्शन पीआ दा इलाज हुआ,

सत गुरु ने अलख लखाया है !
 कहूँ मजनू है कहूँ लैला है !
 आपना रब दिखाया है !
 कहूँ बनया ठाकर दवारा है !
 कहूँ शेख़ाँ बन बन आया है !
 कहूँ भगत हिन्दू जप करदे हो !
 हर घर घर लाड लडाया है !
 महाराज मिले मेरा काज हुआ !
 लगा इश्क तौ ऐ गुण गाया है !

पाया है कुज पाया है ।

<i>Paya hai kujh paya hai,</i>	<i>Sattguru ne allakh lakhaya hai !</i>
<i>Kahun vair para kahun beli hai,</i>	<i>kahun Majnun hai kahun Laila hai !</i>
<i>Kahun aap guru kahu cheli hai,</i>	<i>apna rab dikhaya hai !</i>
<i>Kahun masjid ka vartara hai,</i>	<i>kahun banya thakar-dwara hai !</i>
<i>Kahun bairagi jap dhara hai,</i>	<i>kahun shekhan ban ban aya hai !</i>
<i>Kahun turak musalla parde ho,</i>	<i>kahun bhagat Hindu jap karde ho !</i>
<i>Kahun gor kani vich parde ho,</i>	<i>har ghar ghar lad ladaya hai !</i>
<i>Bulleh Shahu da main mohtaj hua,</i>	<i>maharaj mile mera kaaj hua !</i>
<i>Darshan pia da ilaj hua,</i>	<i>laga ishq tan eh gun gaya hai !</i>
<i>Paya hai kujh paya hai !³⁴</i>	

(I have found, I have found something. My true Guru has made manifest the Unmanifest. Somewhere It is an enemy somewhere It is a friend, somewhere It is Majnun, somewhere It is Laila, somewhere It is the preceptor, somewhere It is the disciple, in all It has manifested Its own path. Somewhere It is a mosque, somewhere It has become a temple, somewhere It is *bairagi* in meditation, somewhere It has become Sheikhs, somewhere as Muslims on the *musalla*, somewhere as Hindu *bhagats* praying. Somewhere He is engaged in digging graves, and in every house He has fondly fondled. Bullah says, of the Master I became desirous of meeting my preceptor, whom I met and my wish is fulfilled. The manifestation of the Dear One (God) was my cure, for having loved (God) I have sung this attribute of God. I have found, I have found something, etc.)

This highly intellectual and clear *Vedantic* conception of the Divine places Bullah in the top-most bracket of Sufis, such as Bayazid (Abu Yazid) Bistami, Al-Hallaj, Shamsi Tabrizi and Jalaluddin Rumi. Even these Sufis spending their lives in established dogmas, struggled hard to become free of them, but Bullah obtained the *Advait* conception, in fact, soon after his initiation into Sufism. We hardly find another of his like among the Sufis in India who beheld God in Muhammad as well as in Christ,

Krishna, Rama, other Prophets, a poor begger in the street, or his own self. He says -

برندابن میں گنو چراوے
لنکا چڑھ کے ناڈو جاوے
مکے دا بن حاجی آوے
واہ واہ رنگ و ٹائی دا
ہن کی تھیں آپ چھپائی دا

ब्रदाँ बन में गऊ चरावे
लकाँ चढ़ के नाड वजावे
मके दा बन हाजी आवे
वाह वाह रंग वटाई दा
हुन की थी आप छुपाई दा

*Brindaban me gau charave
Lanka char ke nad vajave
Makke da ban haji ave
Vah vah rang vatai da.
Hun ki thin aap chhapaida.*³⁵

(In Brindaban you grazed the cows, in Lanka you invaded and became victor; you become pilgrim at Mecca, and have made wonderful changes of form. What are you hiding yourself from now ?).

And again he says -

سیو ہوں ساجن میں پایو
ہر ہر دے وچ سماو
سایو ہوں ساجن میں پایو
ہر ہر دے وچ سماو

*Saiyo hun sajan main payo,
Har har de wich samayo* ³⁶

(Oh friends, now I have found the Beloved, into each and every one He has entered.)

Bulleh Shah belonged to the philosophic and pantheistic school of Sufi thought and broke all shackles of religion, convention and sect. He was so completely convinced of His omnipresence that no differences existed for him—he became one with Him, the Divine Beloved, and experienced that universal joy which knows no bounds. Amongst the contemporary Indian Sufis who can be said to be somewhat nearer to him, in his liberal, pantheistic and cosmopolitan outlook of Sufism, were Mullah Shah and Sarmad.

Mullah Shah was a disciple of Mian Mir, the renowned Sufi of Lahore, who is said to have laid the foundation stone of Harmandir Sahib at Amritsar. Mullah Shah was also a keen follower of pantheistic philosophy of Sufism but lacked courage to declare it openly as did Bulleh Shah.

Mullah Shah was a native of Badakhshan. Aurangzeb's sister, Jahan Ara, writes about him : "He came to India at the age of twenty-five and went direct to Kashmir, where he spent three years as a student. Thereafter, he came to Lahore and remained in the service of Mian Mir for approximately nineteen years, and, during all these years, he went back to Kashmir only in summer."

As Mian Mir did not initiate princes and rich people as his disciples, it was Mullah Shah who initiated Dara Shikoh and his sister Jahan Ara Begam. She has written Mullah Shah's life in a small work "*Sahibiya*". Earlier she was a devotee of the Chishtiya order and had written a biography of Moinuddin Chishti.

Mullah Shah prayed and meditated night and day. Mian Mir had a very high opinion of him. No servants were kept, no meals were cooked and no lamps were lighted in his house and he used to sit in the darkness and meditate. "One night as I attended upon him", says Dara Shikoh, "he asked some one to bring a light and then turning towards me remarked that he had ordered the Light for me as he always meditated in the dark cell."

Mullah Shah was summoned to Delhi by Aurangzeb in 1661 A.D., because he was a friend and patron of Dara Shikoh. On the way to Delhi he stopped at Lahore and died when he prayed at the tomb of Mian Mir. He was a Sufi of liberal outlook and very popular with the princes and the poor alike.

Sarmad was a mystic of extraordinary attainments and was universally known as a cynic philosopher. He was originally a Jew who had subsequently embraced Islam. He lived the life of an ascetic. He used to walk about naked in the streets of Delhi and, for his Sufistic attainments, was also highly venerated by Prince Dara Shikoh. Because of his revolutionary ideas and unconventional way of life, strongly opposed and condemned by the orthodox Muslim *Ulema*, and for his proximity to Prince Dara Shikoh, Sarmad had to sacrifice his life when Aurangzeb ascended the throne.

In his Advait conception and pantheism, Bullah says -

بُھیا کی جاناں میں کون ؟
 نہ میں مومن وچ مستیاں ، نہ میں وچ کفر دیاں ریتاں
 نہ میں پاکاں وچ پلیتاں ، نہ میں موسیٰ نہ فرعون
 بُھیا کی جاناں میں کون ؟
 نہ میں اندر وید کتاباں ، نہ وچ بھنگاں نہ شراباں
 نہ وچ رنداں مست خراباں ، نہ وچ جاگن نہ وچ سون
 بُھیا کی جاناں میں کون ؟
 نہ میں بھید مذہب دا پایا ، نہ میں آدمِ حوا جایا
 نہ میں اپنا نام دھرایا ، نہ وچ بھٹاں نہ وچ بھون
 بُھیا کی جاناں میں کون ؟
 اول آخر آپ نوں جاناں ، نہ کوئی دو جا ہور پچھاناں
 میٹوں ہور نہ کوئی سیاناں ، بُھاشا ہو کھڑا ہے کون
 بُھیا کی جاناں میں کون ؟

बुल्लया की जाना मैं कौन ?

ना मैं मोमन् विच मसीताँ

ना मैं विच कुफ़र दीयाँ रीताँ

ना मैं पाकाँ विच पलीताँ

ना मैं मूसा ना फ़रऊन !

बुल्लया की जाना मैं कौन ?

ना मैं अन्दर वैद किताबाँ

ना विच भाँगा ना शराबाँ

ना विच रिन्दौ मस्त खराबाँ

ना विच जागन ना विच सौन !

बुल्लया की जाना मैं कौन ?

ना मैं भेद मज़हब दा पाया

ना मैं आदम हव्वा जाया

ना मैं अपना नाम धराया

ना विच बैठाँ ना विच भौन !

बुल्लया की जाना मैं कौन ?

अब्ल आखर आप नूँ जाना ना कोई दूजा होर पछानाँ
मेथीँ होर ना कोई सेयाना बुल्ला शहू खड़ा है कौन !

बुल्लया की जाना मैं कौन ?

Bullia ki janan main kaun ?

Na main moman wich masitan, na main wich kufar dian ritan
Na main pakan wich palitan, na main musa na phiraun !

Bullia ki janan main kaun ?

Na main andar vaid kitaban, na wich bhangana na sharaban
Na wich rindan mast kharaban, na wich jagan, na wich saun !

Bullia ki janan main kaun ?

Na main bhed mazhab da paya, na main adam hawa jaya
Na main apna nam dharaya, na wich baithan na wich bhaun!

Bullia ki janan main kaun ?

Awwal akhar aap nun janan, na koi duja hor pachhanan
Maithon hor na koi siana, Bullah shahu khara hai kaun

Bullia ki janan main kaun ?²⁷

(Bullah, what do I know who I am? Neither am I a Muslim in the mosque nor am I in the ways of heathens, nor among the pure or sinful, nor am I Moses or the Pharaoh; Bullah, what do I know who I am ? Neither am I in the books of doctors (*Vaids*), nor I in *bhang* (Cannabis Indica) and wine, nor in the company of the inebriated, neither awake nor asleep. Bullah, what do I know who I am ? Neither have I found secret of religion, or am I born of Adam and Eve, neither have I taken a name, neither I am settled nor am I unsettled. Bullah, what do I know who I am ? First and last I consider myself, none else as second do I recognise, none else is wiser than I. Bullah, what do I know who I am?)

Such pantheism with all its grandeur was peculiar to Bulleh Shah. His pantheism was fundamentally Hindu in its entirety and differed a great

deal from the pantheism of other Sufis because it was accompanied by the doctrines of transmigration and reincarnation and supplemented by the theory of *Karma*. He believed that for merging in the Universal Spirit, one life was not enough and it could be achieved by a constant effort through more than one life and the secret of achieving this goal was based not on religion but on good *karmas* (actions). He was convinced that for complete *fana* (annihilation), the mind and the heart of the seeker must be :

- a) free from sin,
- b) free from passion and ambition to achieve material happiness,
- c) convinced of and sure of presence of God in his thought and act, and
- d) free from material bondage except a sense of rightful duty without attachment.

Another superiority of Bulleh Shah over other Sufis was that he never attempted the work of conversions. His *advaita* completely over-powered him and for him any kind of conversion was beyond his understanding as it was paradoxical and would have negated his own belief. For him, all religions were different paths leading to the same goal. This is quite reminiscent of the universal message of Shrimad Bhagvad Gita. As a Sufi the zeal and assiduity of the seeker was to be taken into account and not the religion he was born in. The spiritual summits to which Bulleh Shah reached places him far ahead of other Sufis not only in the Punjab but also of the world.³⁸

POETRY OF BULLEH SHAH

For most of the Sufis the goal was to find God in all His creation and thus attain union with Him. This union or annihilation in God was to be fully achieved after death, but in some very rare cases it was gained while living. Sufis referred to the stories of perfect love such as Yusuf Zulaikha, Hir Ranjha, Sohni Mahiwal, Sassi Punnu, Laila Majnun and others which have a spiritual significance for them. The heroines in these tales stand for the Sufi (the soul) and heroes for God (the Beloved Sought). After the Sufi has attained union with God he ceases to be the heroine and becomes one with the Beloved Sought (God).

Mystical verse played an important part in the Sufi life. Many anecdotes of the early Sufis relate how fond they were of quoting love-poetry, often in the first place, of purely human character which they interpreted allegorically to accord with their own passionate spiritualism. The mystic poetry, therefore, some times was sensuous and monotonous as the language of human love was used freely to describe the relationship between the Sufi and his Divine Beloved. In India, in general, and in the Punjab, in particular, this tradition was inherited by the Sufis from Persia. Whereas in Persia and other Islamic countries, the Beloved is described both as a man and as a woman, in India He became a man and the seeker became a woman. This essential change was due mainly to Hindu influence just as in Vaishnava poetry, God is Krishna, the cowherd, and the seeker or the lover, Radha, is a milkmaid.

Apart from this, the Sufis also borrowed from the Persians the terms for describing different parts of the Beloved which were interpreted by them allegorically. Even the rose and the *bulbul* and other material symbols of love were borrowed with abandon.

It is necessary to bear in mind how fundamental in Sufi thought is this allegory of love and how readily in their minds human and Divine imagery is interchanged. In languages and on themes, in metaphors and similes easily understood by the people, the Sufis composed poems, songs and hymns praising the Beloved, describing the pain and sorrow inflicted by separation, and ultimately the joy, peace and tranquillity attained in the union.

Bulleh Shah, the undisputed king of the Punjabi Sufi poetry, except in the early stages when he was a novice a few passing references to such eroticism were made, by and large, was free from the foreign influences. He called God the Beloved and Ranjha, but never went on to describe erotic attributes as Persian Sufis were wont to do. In his final phase of mystic life, to Bullah the Beloved was all-pervading Universal Soul and no difference existed for him. He talked of the eternal Beloved in terms highly spiritual and pure. This was indeed an innovation by him in the Punjabi Sufi poetry. He fell in love with the Divine Beloved and worldly love was superfluous for him; this was the main reason why his poetry was essentially non-erotic. His poetry was impregnated with and full of love divine. Another reason for the greatness of Bullah's poetry is that

it is most simple, beautiful in form and has no superfluous ornamentation and, therefore, liked by all and sundry. This is the greatness of Bulleh Shah as the poet. Who could express his union with God in so simple, heart-touching terms ?

رانجھا رانجھا کردی نی میں آپے رانجھا ہوئی
 سدو نی مینوں دھیدو رانجھا، ہیر نہ آکھو کوئی
 رانجھا میں وچ میں رانجھے وچ ہو خیال نہ کوئی
 میں نہیں او آپے ہے، اپنی آپ کرے دلجوئی
 رانجھا رانجھا کردی نی میں آپے رانجھا ہوئی
 سدو نی مینوں دھیدو رانجھا، ہیر نہ آکھو کوئی
 ہتھ کھنڈی میرے اگے مانگوں موڑے بھراوئی
 بٹکا ہیر سیٹی دیکھو، کتھے جا کھلوئی
 رانجھا رانجھا کردی نی میں آپے رانجھا ہوئی
 سدو نی مینوں دھیدو رانجھا، ہیر نہ آکھو کوئی

رँझा रँझा करदी नी मैं आपे रँझा होई

सद्दो नी मैंनू धीदो रँझा हीर ना आखो कोई !

रँझा मैं विच मैं रँझा विच होर खयाल ना कोई

मैं नाहीं ओह आपे है अपनी आप करे दिल जोई !

रँझा रँझा करदी नी मैं आपे रँझा होई

सद्दो नी मैंनू धीदो रँझा हीर ना आखो कोई !

हथ खुन्डी मेरे अग्गे माँगू मोडे भूरा लोई

बुल्ला हीर सलेटी वेखो किथे जा खलोई !

रँझा रँझा करदी नी मैं आपे रँझा होई

सद्दो नी मैंनू धीदो रँझा हीर ना आखो कोई !

Ranjha ranjha kardi ni main ape ranjha hoi

Saddo ni mainun dhido ranjha, hir na akhkho koi.

Ranjha main wich main ranjha wich hor khial na koi

Main nahin oh ape hai, appni aap kare diljoi.

Ranjha ranjha kardi ni main ape ranjha hoi

Saddo ni mainu dhidho ranjha, hir na akhkho koi.

*Hatth khundi mere agge mangu, modhe bhura loi,
Bullah Hir saleti dekho, kitthe ja khaloi.*

*Ranjha ranjha kardi ni main ape ranjha hoi
Saddo ni mainu dhido ranjha, hir na akhkho koi.*³⁹

(Repeating Ranjha Ranjha, I have myself become Ranjha. Call me Dhido (pet name of Ranjha when he was a cowherd) Ranjha, none should call me Hir. Ranjha is in me, I am in Ranjha, none should call me Hir. Ranjha is in me, I am in Ranjha, and there is no other thought. I do not exist, He only exists and He amuses himself. Repeating Ranjha Ranjha, I have myself become Ranjha.)

In my hand is the staff and before me is the wealth (cattle), round my shoulders is the coarse blanket (the garb of the cowherds); Bullah, behold the gray (beautiful) Hir, where has she gone and stood ! Repeating Ranjha, Ranjha, I have myself become Ranjha.)

Bullah broke all the conventions and shackles of the accepted verse forms, the similes and metaphors, and evolved his own style; herein lies his originality in which he excels all the other Punjabi Sufi poets. He took similes from the life that was familiar to him. His poetry, though abstract, is easily understandable. He says -

میری بیکل دے دینج چور
میری بیکل دے دینج چور
کنہوں کوک سناواں نی ، میری بیکل دے دینج چور
جوری جوری نیکل گیا نی ، جگ دینج پے گیا شور
میری بیکل دے دینج چور
مسلمان سیویاں توڑ دے ، ہندو ڈر دے گور
دونوں ایسے دے دینج مرے ، ایہو دونوں دی خور
میری بیکل دے دینج چور
کتے رام داس کتے فتح محمد ، ایہو قدیمی شور
مٹ گیا دوہاں دا جھگڑا ، نیکل پیا کچھ ہور
میری بیکل دے دینج چور

عشق سوزوں طلیاں بانگیاں ، سنیاں تخت لاہور
شاہ غایت گندھیاں پایاں ، ملک چھپ کچھڑا ڈور
میری بیکل دے رنج چور

मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर
मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर
किन्हूँ कूक सुनावँ नी मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर
चोरी चोरी निकल गया नी जग विच पै गया शोर
मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर
मुसलमान सिवयँ तों डरदे हिन्दू डरदे गोर
दोवै ऐसे दे विच मरदे ऐहो दोवाँ दी खोर
मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर
किते रामदास किते फ़तेह मुहमद ऐहो कदीमी शोर
मिट गया दोवाँ दा झगड़ा निकल प्या कुज होर
मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर
अर्श मुनवरौ मिलयँ बाँगाँ सुनियँ तख़त लाहौर
शाह इनायत घँडियँ पाइयँ लुक छुप खिचदा डोर
मेरी बुक्कल दे विच चोर

Meri bukkal de wich chor

Meri bukkal de wich chor

Kinhun kook sunavan ni, meri bukkal de wich chor
Chori chori nikal gaya ni, jagg wich pai gaya shor !

Meri bukkal de wich chor !

Musalman siwian ton darde, hindu darde gor
Doven ese de wich marde, eho dovan di khor !

Meri bukkal de wich chor !

Kitte ramdas kitte fateh muhammad eho kadimi shor
Mitt gaya dovan da jhagra nikal pea kujh hor !

Meri bukkal de wich chor !

Arsh munawaron milian bangaan, sunian takht lahaur
Shah Inayat ghandhian paiyan, lukk chhup khichda dor !

Meri bukkal de wich chor !¹⁰

(Within the folds of my veil was the thief, within the folds of my veil was the thief ! To whom shouting should I tell that within the folds of my veil was the thief. Stealthily, stealthily, he ran out and this has caused astonishment in the world.

The Muslims are afraid of crematoria, and Hindus of the grave, and both die in (this) fear and that is the trouble with them; somewhere it is Ramdas and somewhere it is Fateh Muhammad; this is the ancient struggle. The difference of both has ceased as something else has turned up.

From the sky-high towers, the prayer calls were made and they were heard at the throne (*gaddi* of Shah Inayat) at Lahore; Shah Inayat tied the knots and now He (God), hidden behind, pulls the strings. Within the folds of my veil was the thief.)

Bulleh Shah firmly believed in the old Indian dictum, *Vasudheva Kutumbh Kumb* (वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्) - the world is one large family. In the Holy Quran also it is mentioned *Al-Khalqu Ayal Allah* (الْخَلْقُ عِيَالُ اللَّهِ) - the entire creation is the family of God. Bullah stood for the unity of people belonging to different faiths and creeds which he considered essential for human welfare. He saw God installed in the heart of each individual irrespective of which faith he belonged to and expressed this sentiment in an impressive manner in the following *Kafi* -

ہندو نہ نہیں مسلمان، یہی ترخن تاج اجمان
سنتی نہ نہیں ہم شیعہ، صلح کل کاما رنگ یا
بھکتی نہ نہیں ہم راجے، ننگے نہ نہیں ہم کچے
روندے نہ نہیں ہم ہند، اجرے نہ نہیں ہم وسدے
پاپی نہ سدھری ناں، پاپ چین کی راہ نہ جاں
بلکھاں ہر ہریت لگے، ہندو ترک دو جان تیاں

हिन्दू ना नहीं मुसलमान बहीये त्रजँन ताज अभमान
 सुन्नी ना नहीं हम शिया सुल्लाह कुल का मार्ग लिया
 भुक्खे ना नहीं हम रज्जे नंगे ना नहीं हम कज्जे
 रोन्दे ने नहीं हम हस्सदे उजड़े ना नहीं हम वसदे
 पापी ना सुधमी नाँ पाप पुन्न की राह ना जाँ
 बुल्ला शाहू हर चित लगे
 हिन्दू तुरक दो जान त्यागे !

Hindu na nahin musalman, bahiey trinjan taj abhaman
Sunni na nahin hum shia, sulha kul ka marg lia
Bhukke na nahin hum rajje, nange na nahin hum kajje,
Ronde na nahin hum hassde, ujare na nahin hum vassde
Papi na sudharmi na, pap pun ki rah na jaan
Bullah shahu har chit lage
hindu turk do jan tiage.⁴¹

(Neither Hindu nor Musalman, let us sit to spin, abandonning pride (faith). Neither a *Sunni* nor a *Shia*, I have taken the path of peace and unity. Neither am I hungry (poor) nor am I satisfied (rich), nor naked I, nor covered. Neither am I crying nor laughing nor ruined nor settled. Neither sinner nor virtuous, I don't follow the path of sin or virtue. Bullah says, Lord is in every heart, Hindu and Musalmans both I have abandoned.)

Bulleh Shah was a staunch critic of religious bigotry and strongly opposed the set codes and rules of religion which did not allow freedom of expression. For him there was no difference in the spiritual codes of Islam and Hinduism. He always placed religion at a lower level than his love for the Universal Soul. In his criticism of the religious codes vis-a-vis Love Divine, he has sung a beautiful *Kafi*, quoted by L. Ramakrishna, as under -

عشق شرع دا جھگڑا پہ گیا دل دا بھرم مٹاواں میں
 سوال شرع دے جواب عشق دے حضرت آکھ سناواں میں
 شرع کہے چل پاس ملدا رہے ادب ادا باں نوں
 عشق کہے اے حرف بیترا تعجب رکھ ہو رکنا باں نوں
 شرع کہے کر بیج ارشناناں، انگ مندر کی پوجا رہے
 عشق کہے تیری پوجا جھوٹی ہے بن بیٹھوں دُور جا رہے
 شرع کہے کچھ شرم حیا کر، بند کر اس چکارے نوں
 عشق کہے اے کھو گھٹ کیسا، کھٹن دے نظا رہے نوں
 شرع کہے چل مسجد اندر، حق نما نہ ادا کر لے
 عشق کہے چل میخانے دِخ، پی کے شراب نفل پڑھ لے
 شرع کہے چل بہشتی چلے، بہشتاں دے میوے کھاناں گے

عشق کہے اوتھے پہرا ساڈا، آپ ہتھیں ورتاؤناں گے
 شرع کہے چل حج کر مومن، پل سیرت سنگاں رہے
 عشق کہے بوا یا ردا کعبہ، اوتھوں مول نہ پلناں رہے
 شرع کہے شاہ منصور نوں سولی آتے جاڑ ھیا سی
 عشق کہے تساں چنگا کیتا بولے یار دے وڑیا سی
 عشق دا درجہ عرش معلیٰ سراج لولا کی رہے
 عشق وچوں پیدا کیتا ملبھا آجسر خاکی رہے

इश्क शरा दा झगड़ा पै गया दिल दा भ्रम मिटावाँ मैं
 सवाल शरा दे जावाब इश्क दे हज़रत आख सुनावौ मैं !
 शरा कहे चल पास मुल्ला दे सिख लै अदब अदावाँ नूँ
 इश्क कहे इके हरफ बतेरा थप रख होर कितावाँ नूँ
 शरा कहे कर पजं अशनानाँ अलग मन्दिर की पूजा रे
 इश्क कहे तेरी पूजा झूठी जे बन बैठी दूजा रे
 शरा कहे कुज शर्म हया कर, बँद कर इस चमकारे नूँ
 इश्क कहे ऐ घूँघट कैसा खुलन दे नज़ारे नू
 शरा कहे चल मसजद अन्दर हक्क नामाज़ अदा कर लै
 इश्क कहे चल मैखाने विच पी के शराब नफल पढ़ लै !
 शरा कहे चल बहिशतीँ चलिये बहिशताँ दे मेवे खावाँगे
 इश्क कहे ओथे पैहरा साडा आप हथीँ वरतावाँ गे

शरा कहे चल हज़र कर मोमन पुल सीरत लगँनाँ रे
 इश्क कहे बुआ यार दा काबा ओथौँ मूल ना हिलनाँ रे
 शरा कहे शाह मनसूर नूँ सूली उत्ते चाड़िया सी
 इश्क कहे तुसौँ चगौँ कीता बूहे यार दे वड़िया सी
 इश्क दा दरजा अरश मुअल्ला सरताज लौ लाकी रे
 इश्क विचौँ पैदा कीता बुल्ला आजज़ खाकी रे !

Ishq shara da jhagra pai gaya dil da bharam mitawan main
Sawaal shara de jawab ishq de hazrat akkh sunawan main !
Shara kahe chal pas mulla de sikh lai adab adaaban nun,
Ishq kahe ikke haraf batera thapp rakkh hor kitaban nun !
Shara kahe kar panj ashnanan alag mandir ki puja re,
Ishq kahe teri puja jhuthi je ban baithon duja re !
Shara kahe kujh sharam haya kar band kar is chamkare nun,
Ishq kahe eh ghunghat kaisa khullan de nazare nun !
Shara kahe chal masjid andar haq namaz ada kar lai,
Ishq kahe chal maikhane wich peeke sharab naphal padh lai !
Shara kahe chal bahishti chaliye bahishtaan de mewe khawan ge,
Ishq kahe othe pehara sada aap hathin wartanwan ge !
Shara kahe chal hajj kar moman pul-sirat langanan re,
Ishq kahe bua yarda kaba othon mool na hilna re !
Share kahe shah mansur nun suli utte chardia si,
Ishq kahe tusan changa keeta buhe yar de waria si !
Ishq da darja arsh mualla sartaj lau laki re,
Ishq wichon paida keeta bullah ajiz khaki re.⁴²

(Love (Divine) and Law (Religious Codes) are constantly struggling (in the human heart); the doubt of the heart I will remove. I will describe the questions of Law and the answers of Love, exalted Sir. Law says : Go to the *mulla* (Muslim priest) and learn the rules and regulations. Love says : Only one letter is enough and keep all other books shut. Law says : Perform five baths (considered holy at five sanctuaries by the Hindus) and worship in the

temple. Love says : Your worship is false if you think yourself separate. Law says : Have shame and conceal this illumination. Love says : Why this veil for ? Open the visions. Law says : Go inside the mosque and perform the namaz. Love says : Go to winehouse and while drinking read *naphal* (supererogatory prayers). Law says : Let us go to heaven and eat heavenly fruits. Love says : We are the keepers there and we will ourselves distribute the fruits of heaven. Law says : Go and perform *hajj* as a Muslim duty-bound, you have to cross the *pul-sirat* (*siratul mustaquim*). Love says : the door of the Beloved is *Kaaba* wherefrom I will not move. Law says : Shah Mansur (Mansur al-Hallaj of *Ana'l Haqq* fame) was put on the cross. Love says : You did right and made him enter the door of the Beloved. The place of love is the highest heaven, the pinnacle of glory. Out of love and from dust He has created humble Bullah.)

Bulleh Shah was convinced that by going on pilgrimages to holy places or by following the outward religious forms and symbols, one does not achieve the set goal of union with the Lord. Therefore, he openly declared :

کئے گئیاں گل مکدی ناہیں
جے چر دلوں آپ نہ مکائیے
گنگا گئیاں گل مکدی ناہیں
بھانویں سوسو غوطے لائیے

मक़े गय़ाँ गल मुकदी नाहीं
जे चर दिलीँ आप ना मुकाईये
गगाँ गय़ाँ गल मुकदी नाहीं
भाँवे सौ सौ गोते लाईये !

*Makke gayan gall mukdi nahin
je charr dilon na aap mukaiye*

Ganga gaya gall mukh di nahin
bhanven sau sau ghote laiye ¹³

(By going to Mecca, you cannot fulfil your desire (of meeting the Beloved Divine) unless you search for Him in your heart; by going to Ganges, you cannot fulfil your desire (of meeting the Lord) even if you immerse hundred times in the holy waters.)

Again he says:

جے رب ملدا نہاتیاں دھوتیاں
تے رب ملدا دڈواں مچھیاں لوں
جے رب ملدا جنگل پھریاں
تے رب ملدا گائیاں وچھیاں نوں
تے میاں بلھیاں انہاں نوں ملدا
اتے دلیاں سچیاں اچھیاں نوں

جے رب ملدا نہاتےیاں دھوتےیاں
تے رب ملدا ڈڈواں مچھیاں نوں !

جے رب ملدا جنگل فیرےیاں

تے رب ملدا گاڑےیاں وچھیاں نوں !
تے میاں بلھیاں رب آئیں نوں ملدا

اتے دلیاں سچیاں اچھیاں نوں !!

Je rabb milda nahatiyan dhotiyan,

te rabb milda daddooan machhian nu;

Je rabb milda jungal phiriyan,

te rabb milda gaiyan wachhiyan nu;

Te mian bulliah rabb unhaan nu milda

atthe dilliyan sachiyan achhiyan nu.

(If God could be found by bathing and washing, then He would have been found by frogs and fishes; if God could be found by roaming in the jungles, then He would have been found by cows and calves. O Mian Bullah : God is found by them who have pure heart, are truthful and good.)

Further he says -

حاجی لوک مکے نون جانڈے
اسان جانا تخت ہزارے
جیت دل یار اُتے ول کعبہ
بھانویں ویکھ کتاباں چارے

हाजी लोक मक़े नूँ जान्दे आसाँ जाना तख़त हज़ारे
जित वल यार उते वल काबा भाँवे वेख़ किताबाँ चारे

Hajji lok makke nun jande asan jana takht hazare
*Jit wal yar utte wal kaaba bhanven wekh kitabaan chare.*¹⁴

(Pilgrims go to Mecca but I have to go to Takht Hazara
(Ranjha's place, i.e., God's place); wheresoever is your
friend (God), Kaba is there, even if you read all the
four books (of religion).)

Bulleh Shah was always very scared of the so-called educated people
who had acquired superficial knowledge without any deep study of Love
Divine. He says -

میں پا پڑھیاں تون نہسناں ہاں
عالم فاضل میرے بھائی
تاں میں دسناں ہاں !
پا پڑھیاں تون نہسناں ہاں

मैं पा पढ़ियाँ तौ न्हसनाँ हौं
आलम फ़ाज़ल मेरे भाई
ताँ मैं दसनाँ हौं
पा पढ़ियाँ मेरी अकल गुआई
पा पढ़ियाँ तौ न्हसनाँ हौं !

Main pa padhian ton nahsna han
Alam fazal mere bhai *Pa padhian meri aqqal gawai*
Tan main dasnan han *Pa padhian ton nahasna han*¹⁵

(I run away from the so-called educated. The learned
are my brothers; the so-called educated have made
me unwise, that is why I am now telling (that) I run
away from the so-called educated.)

In the same vein, Bulleh Shah says -

علموں بس کریں ادیار
 علموں بس کریں ادیار
 علم نہ آوے وح شمار
 اکو الف تیرے درکار
 جانڈی عمر نہیں اعتبار
 علموں بس کریں ادیار

इलमों बस करीं ओ यार

इलमों बस करीं ओ यार

इलम ना आवे विच शुमार

इक्को अलफ़ तेरे दरकार

जान्दी उमर नहीं ऐतबार

इलमों बस करीं ओ यार !

Ilmon bus karin O yar

Ilmon bus karin O yar !

Ilam na awe wich shumar

Ikko alaf tere darkar !

Jandi umar nahin etbar

Ilmon bus karin O yar⁴⁶

(O God ! enough of (superficial) education; O God !
 enough of (superficial) education. Education does
 not count, only *Alaf* (One or Oneness of God) is
 required; life is passing, I cannot trust. O God !
 enough of (superficial) education.)

Punjabi Sufis often freely employed in their compositions vocabulary and terms of local trades and industries so as to make it easily comprehensible to the folks in towns and villages. The most important industry which flourished in every village, town and city in the Punjab was the cotton industry. The Sufis, therefore, made ample use of the vocabulary of this industry and took similes from it.

To the Punjabi Sufi, the world was a spinning-wheel and his own self or soul which yearned for meeting with the Universal Lord was akin to a young girl who was supposed to spin the yarn and prepare her dowry,

a common practice among all the communities of the Punjab. A Sufi's good actions were like spinning, and the yarn thus spun was his dowry which he would take to the husband (God), just as a young girl was supposed to do to make her husband happy. According to common belief, God would love that Sufi who died with a good account of himself (*karmas* or actions), a dowry which would befit a noble soul. Alternatively, like the ignorant young girl who, neglecting the future consequences, whiled away her time in games and playthings, complaining that one part or the other of the spinning-wheel was out of order, did not pay heed and, in consequence, suffered. Similarly, a Sufi, who made excuses for his indulgence in worldly pleasures, did not pay heed to his spiritual pursuits, was denied union with the Beloved. He, therefore, bewailed and described the pangs of separation from the Divine Self and, frequently, took similes from the cotton industry.

Bulleh Shah also used extensively similes from the cotton industry in his *Kafis*, such as -

ہستی ڈھلک گئی میرے چرنے دی
میتھوں کتیا مول نہ جاوے
ہن دن چڑھیاں کد گزرے
مینوں راتیں منہ دکھاوے

हथ्थी ढलक गई मेरे चरखे दी
मैथौ कतिया मूल ना जाए
हुन दिन चड़ियाँ कद गुजरे
मैनुँ रातौ मुहँ दिखावे ।

Haththi dhalak gayee mere charkhe di
maithon kattiya mool na jaye !
Hun din chadhiyan kad guzare
mainun ratin munh dikhawe !¹⁷

(The handle of my spinning-wheel has loosened and I cannot spin the yarn, now the day will break and when will it pass ? Only at night (in the spinning session) He will show me His face.)

In the same vein, Bullah says
 तक्ले नून वाल है पै जान्दा कौन लोहार बुलावे
 तक्ले तौं वल लाह दे लोहारा मैडा तँद टुट टुट जावे ।

Takkle nūn wal hai pae janda kaun lohār bulawe !

Takkle ton wal lah de luhara mainda tand tut tut jāwe !⁴⁸

(The spindle of the spinning-wheel is not working properly and who will call the black-smith (Master) (to repair) ? Please set right the spindle of my spinning wheel, O Black Smith (Master), my yarn (concentration on good deeds) gets broken time and again.)

It is observed that in some of the Kafis of Bulleh Shah, the composition, meanings and Sufistic ideas of the Kafis of Shah Husain are amply reflected, as for example in the following —

میں چوہری ہاں سچے صاحب دی سرکاروں
 دھیان کی چھجلی گیان کا جھارو کام کرو دھت جھاروں
 قاضی جانے حاکم جانے فارغ خطی بے گاروں
 رنے رات میں ایہو منگ دی دور نہ کرو درباروں

मैं चूहड़ी हँ सच्चे साहिब दी सरकारों !

ध्यान की छजली झयान का झाड़ू काम करोध नित झाड़ूँ

काज़ी जाने हाकिम जाने फ़ारग़ खती बेगारों

दिने रात में एही मगँदी दूर ना कर दरबारों ।

Main choohri han sachche sahib di sarkaron !

Dhian ki chhajjalli gian ka jharu kam krodh nit jharun

Qazi jane hakim jane faragh khatti be-garon

Dinne rat main eho mang di door na kar darbaron.⁴⁹

(I am the sweeperess appointed by the True Lord. I carry the wick-basket of meditation and broom of

knowledge and always sweep sex and anger. Qazi knows it and Hakim knows it that I am exempt from indentured labour; day and night I only pray that I should not be kept away from the court (of the Lord).

In the same manner, Madho Lal Husain, otherwise known as Shah Husain, has also said that -

میں جو بڑی ہاں دربار دی
دھیان دی چھلی گیان دا جھارو کام کرو دھنت جھاڑاں
قاضی جانے سانوں حاکم جانے سانوں فارغ خطی بیگار دی
مل جانے ارہنتہ جانے میں نہیں کراں سرکار دی
کہے حسین فقیر نماں سائیں طلب تیرے دیدار دی

मैं चूहड़ी हँ दरबार दी ।

ध्यान की छजली झयान का झाड़ू काम करोध नित झाड़ूँ
काज़ी जाने सानू हाकिम जाने सानू फ़ारग़ ख़ती बेगार दी
मिल जाने अर मेहता जाने मैं टहल करँ सरकार दी
कहे हुसैन फ़कीर नुमाना साइँ तलब तेरे दीदार दी ।
*Main choohri han darbar di !
Dhian ki chhijalli gian ka jharu kam krodh nit jharan
Qazi jane sanu hakim jane sanu faragh khatti begar di
Mil jane ar mehta jane main tehal karan sarkar di
Kahe husain faqir numana sain talab tere deedar di.*⁵⁰

(I am the sweeperess of the court (of God). With the wick basket of meditation and broom of knowledge, I sweep sex and anger. Qazi knows me, Hakim knows me that I am exempt from indentured labour. All the officials know that I look after the work of the Lord. Says Husain, innocent faqir, that I earnestly wish to see the Lord.)

In another place, Bulleh Shah says

سجناں دے دھڑے کوں سن دا لہو چھانیدا
 دکھاں سولاں کیتا ایکا نہ کوئی سوہرا نہ کوئی پیکا
 درد دھونی پئی در تیرے
 توں ہی درد رنجانی دا !
 کڈ کلجہ کیتے بیرے
 ہور توفیق نہیں کجھ میرے
 اے پرنا میں لائق تیرے
 پیو کٹورا پانی دا

سجناں دے دھڑے کوں سن دا لہو چھانیدا
 دکھاں سولاں کیتا ایکا نہ کوئی سوہرا نہ کوئی پیکا
 درد دھونی پئی در تیرے
 توں ہی درد رنجانی دا !

کڈ کلجہ کیتے بیرے
 ہور توفیق نہیں کجھ میرے
 اے پرنا میں لائق تیرے
 پیو کٹورا پانی دا !

Sajnan de wichhore kolon tan da lahu chhaninda
Dhukhkhhan soolan kita eka na koi saura na koi peka
Dard dahoni pei dar tere
tun hi dard ranjhani da !

Kadd kaleja kite bere eh par nahin lai q tere
Hor taufiq nahin kujh mere pio katora pani da ^{f2}

(Because of separation from my friend (God), blood of my body is strained. My worries and pains have united and I have nowhere to go (as I have no home of my own or of my in-laws). With enormous pains (of separation) I am lying at your door and You (God) can relieve me (of this). By taking out my heart, this (act) is not commensurate with Your station, I have no other capability except to drink a cupful of water.)

On the same lines, Shah Husain has said -

میراں دی مجانی خاطر دل دا لہو چھانی دا
 کڈ کلجہ کیتے بیرے سو بھی لائق نا ہیں تیرے
 ہور توفیق نہیں کجھ میرے پیو کٹورا پانی دا
 دکھاں سولاں رُل کیتا ایکا نہ کوئی سوہرا نہ کوئی پیکا
 آس رہی ہن تیری ایکا پلا پکڑ منانی دا

मित्राँ दी मजमानी खातिर दिल दा लहू छानी दा !
 कड कलेजा कीतम बेरे सो भी लायक नाहीं तेरे
 होर तौफ़ीक नहीं कुझ मेरे पीयो कटोरा पानी दा !
 दुखाँ सूलाँ रल कीता ऐका ना कोई सोहरा ना कोई पेका
 आस रही हुन तेरी ऐका पल्ला पकड़ नूमानी दा !

*Mitran di majmani khatir dil da lahu chhani da,
 Kadd kaleja keetam bere so bhi laiq nahin tere
 Hor taufiq nahin kujh mere pio katora pani da !
 Dukhkhan soolan rall keeta eka na koi saura na koi peka,
 Aas rahi hun teri eka palla pakar numani da* ^{f2}

(For the happiness of my friend (God), I strain the blood of my heart. By taking out my heart, this (act) is not conforming to the standard of your (God's) station. I have no other capability except to drink a cupful of water. My hurts and pains have gathered together, I have no home of my own or of my in-laws. Hope only is that You (God) will catch hold skirt of the innocent me.)

In these *Kafis*, not only there is great similarity but also there is a constant flow of highly spiritualistic and deep feelings, full of pathos, and humility of the seeker for communion with the Lord. The verses of both the Sufis are suffused with love divine.

Bulleh Shah, in his pantheistic Sufi thought and extremely liberal outlook, many a time, expressed his true feelings which, by convention, he was not supposed to do. In spite of the troublous times in which he lived and, since he could not contain his feelings any longer, he expressed them with all the sincerity, simplicity and vehemence at his command least caring for the consequences. How many poets had the courage and conviction to express great philosophic truth so well as did Bullah in the following composition ?

مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 بھوٹ آکھیا تے کچھ بچ دا ہے بچ آکھیا بھڑمچا ہے
 دل دہان لگان تو بچ دا ہے بچ جج کے جیساں کہندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 اک لازم بات ادب دی ہے سائون بات معلومی سب دی ہے
 ہر ہر وچ صورت رب دی ہے کہوں ظاہر کہوں چھپی دی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 جس پایا بھید قلندر دا راہ کھو گیا اپنے اندر دا
 سگھ واسی ہے ایس مندر دا جتھے چڑھ دی ہے نہ رہندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 ایس تھہ دنیا و نچ نہیں ہے اتے تلکن بازی دیہڑ ہے
 اندر ور کے دیکھو کیہڑا ہے باہر خلقت پئی ڈھونڈی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 ایس تھہ لیکھا پاؤں، پسار ہے اس دا دکھرا بھید نیا ہے
 اک صورت دا چمکا را ہے جیوں جنگ دار و وچ پندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 جدوں ظاہر ہوئے نور ہو ری جل گئے پہاڑ کوہ طور ہو ری
 تدوں دار چڑھے منصور ہو ری اوکھے شیخی نہ مینڈی تینڈی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 کتے ناز و ادا دکھلائی دا کتے ہو رسول ملائی دا
 کتے عاشق بن بن آئی دا کتے جان عبدائی سہندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 جے ظاہر کراں امرار تئیں سب بھل جاوَن تکرار تئیں
 پھر مارن ملے یار تئیں اُتھے مخفی گل سوہندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 اُسان پڑھیا علم تحقیقی ہے اوکھے اکو حرف حقیقی ہے
 ہو رہی کلا سب و دھکی ہے ایویں رولا پایا بہندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے
 مہلے شاہو اسان تو دکھ نہیں بن شاہو تئیں دو جا لگھ نہیں
 پردیکھن والی اکھ نہیں تاہیں جان پئی دکھ سہندی ہے
 مَنہ آئی بات نہ رہندی ہے

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

झूठ आखिया ते कुझ बचदा है सच आखिया भान्बड़ मचदा है
दिल दोहँ गल्लाँ तो जच दा है जच जच के जीबाँ कैहन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

इक लाज़म बात अदब दी है सानूँ बात मालूमी सब दी है
हर हर विच सूरत रब्व दी है कहूँ ज़ाहर कहूँ छपेन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

जिस पाया भेद कलन्दर दा राह खोजिया अपने अन्दर दा
सुख वासी है ऐस मन्दिर दा जिथे चढ़ दी है ना लेहन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

ऐथे दुनिया विच हनेरा है अते तिलकन बाज़ी वेहड़ा है
अन्दर वड़ के वेखो केहड़ा है बाहर खलकत पई ढूँड दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

ऐथे लेखा पाआँ पसारा है इस दा वखरा भेद नयारा है
इक सूरत दा चमकारा है ज्यों चिनक दारु विच पँदी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

किते नाज़-ओ-अदा दिखलाई दा किते हो रसूल मिलाई दा
किते आशक बन बन आई दा किते जान जुदाई सेहन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

जदाँ ज़ाहर होऐ नूर होरी जल गए पहाड़ कोह तूर होरी
तद्दों दार चड़े मनसूर होरी ओथे शेखी ना मैडी तैडी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

जे ज़ाहर करँ इसरार तई सब भुल जावन तक़रार तई
फ़िर मारन बुल्ले यार तई ओथे मुखफ़ी गल सोहेन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

असाँ पढ़या इल्म तहकीकी है ओथे इक्को हर्फ हकीकी है
होर झगड़ा सब वधीकी है ऐवँ रौला पा पा बहन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

बुल्ले शहू असाँ तो वख नाहीं बिन शहू थीं दूजा कख नाहीं
पर वेखन वाली अख नाहीं ताहीं जान पई दुख सेहन्दी है

मूहँ आई बात ना रहन्दी है !

Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Juth akkhia te kujh bachda hai, such akkhia bhambar machda hai
Dil dohan gallan to jachda hai, jach jach ke jeeban kehndi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Ikk laazam bat adab di hai, sanun bat malumi subh di hai
Har har wich surat rabb di hai, kahun zahar kahun chhappendi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Jis paya bhed qalander da, rah khojia apne andar da
Sukhwasi hai es mandir da, jithe chardi hai na lehndi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Etthe duniya wich hanera hai, ate tillkan bazi vehra hai
Andar war ke wekho kehra hai, bahar khalqat pai dhundh di hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Etthe lekha paon pasara hai, isda wakkhra bhed niara hai
Ikk surat da chamkara hai, jeun chinak daru wich paindi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Kite naz-o-ada dikhlai da, kite ho rasul milai da
Kite ashaq ban ban aiye da, kite jan judai sehndi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Jadon zaahar hoe nur hori, jal gaye pahar koh tur hori
Tadon daar chadhe mansur hori, otthe shekhi na maindi taindi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Je zaahar karan asrar tain, sabh bhul jawan takrar tain
Phir maran bullhe yar tain, otthe makhfi gall sohindi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Asaan padhia ilm tehqiqi hai, otthe ikko haraf haqiqi hai
Hor jhagara sabh wadhiki hai, aiven roula pa pa behndi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai !
Bullah shahu asanthon wakkh nahin, bin shahu thin duja kakkh nahin
Par wekkhan wali akkh nahin, tain jaan pei dukkh sehndi hai
Munh aiye bat na rehndi hai ! ⁵³

(I cannot withhold the speech that has come into my mouth. By speaking falsehood there is some respite but by telling the truth, fire-storm will be let loose; the heart is disgusted and, in disgust, the tongue is compelled to say: I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

One essential thing concerns religion, but I know everything. There is image of God in everything; somewhere it is patent somewhere it is latent. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

Whosoever had found the secrets of the saints, he has found the path from within him; he is a happy resident of this temple (of self-realisation) where there is no rise or fall. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

In this world there is darkness and the courtyard is slippery; search within, who is there ? Outside even the crowd is looking for (God). I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

Here the account (of *Karmas*) has spread out its feet, it has a different secret of its own. One image (God) has its own illumination just as a spark falls into the wine. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

Somewhere He has been coquettish; somewhere He has brought Muhammad; somewhere He has come as a great lover and somewhere His soul suffers pains of separation. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

When the Light (God) manifested, the mount of Sinai was illumined, and then Mansur was put on the cross, there existed no boasting of mine or thine. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

If I declare openly the secret, all quarrel (of different faiths) will cease; then (vested interests) will kill friend Bullah; here, on earth, crafty speech (ambiguous) is liked. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

I have understood the knowledge of search and there is only one word (of God) which is real; all other arguing is unnecessary, and it is useless to make noise. I cannot withhold the speech, etc.

Bullah, the Lord is not separate from us and there is nothing apart from the Lord; alas ! there is no eye which can see (Him), therefore the soul is suffering. I cannot withhold the speech etc.)

The poetic compositions of Bulleh Shah praised the Divine Beloved, described the pain and sorrow inflicted by separation and ultimately the joy, peace and tranquillity attained in the Union. In the early stages of his mystic life, Bulleh Shah spoke of the *Ishq-i-Haqiqi* (the Love Divine) through the veil of *Ishq-i-Majazi* (the carnal love) as the Sufis were wont to do. His earlier compositions were banal but in later compositions, since he had broken the customary shackles, they were entirely free from this and matured in thought and substance. In fact, in the final phase of his development as a Sufi of great attainments and as a poet of distinction, the Divine Beloved for Bulleh was all-pervading Universal Soul which added a new dimension to the Punjabi Sufi poetry. For this reason, his poetry is, essentially, non-erotic and represents truly what is naturally felt in loving the Divine Beloved.

Bulleh Shah composed several poems, innumerable *Kafis* and *Baramah*, among others. The chief merit of his poetry lies in the fact that it is full of pathos, deep feelings, highly intellectual, profoundly spiritual and easily comprehensible with Punjabi down-to-earth similes, which has captivated the hearts of the Punjabis, rustic as well as highly intellectual of all faiths and creeds, and inspires them even today to sing the glory of the Divine Beloved.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Maula Baksh Kushta, *Punjabi Shairan da Tazkira*, p. 102, L Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 60.
2. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 102.
3. Ibid. p. 102 Shamim Choudhury, *Punjabi Adab-o-Tarikh*, p. 94.
4. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 102.
5. Ibid., p. 102.
6. Ibid., p. 102.
7. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 61.
8. Ibid., p. 62.

9. Ibid., p. 63.
10. Maula Baksh Kushta, op., cit. p. 103.
11. The Shattaris are a sect of the Qadariya Sufi *silsila*.
12. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 65.
13. It is commonly believed that Shah Inayat always preached in Punjabi and used to quote freely from the verses composed by him. As Punjabi in those days was considered the language of the uncultured, it seems, his compositions were not preserved.
14. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 66.
15. Ibid., p. 67.
16. Ibid., p. 67.
17. *Qanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. I, p. 100 (*Kafi* 17).
18. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 64 (*Kafi* 1).
19. Maula Baksh Kushta, op., cit., p. 107.
20. Ibid., p. 107.
21. L. Rama Krishna, op., cit. p. 71.
22. *Kafi* of Bullah Shah No. 37. Also mentioned in *Sangit Sagar*, p. 289.
23. *Qanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. II. p. 211.
24. Maula Baksh Kushta, op., cit., p. 104.
25. Ibid., p. 103.
26. *Sain Bullah Shah, Kafi* 48.
27. *Qanun-i-Ishq* Vol. V, p. 99 (*Kafi* 16). *Pul Sirat* is a mythical bridge having razorsharp edges which everyone has to cross. Those who have good deeds to their credit cross it without any difficulty but those who are bad are cut to pieces and thrown down the bridge to be consumed by the fire of hell perennially burning there. Poets often use this expression as the strict code of conduct.
28. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 104.
29. Ibid., p. 73.
30. *Qanun-i-Ishq* vol. V, p. 99 (*Kafi* 16)
31. *Qanun-i-Ishq, Kafi* 57.
32. Maula Baksh Kushta, op., cit., p. 106.
33. *Qanun-i-Ishq, Kafi* 85.
34. Ibid., *Kafi* 85.
35. Ibid., *Kafi* 90.
36. Ibid., *Kafi* 59.
37. Ibid., *Kafi* 114.
38. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 79-80.
39. *Qanun-i-Ishq, Kafi* 109.

40. Ibid., *Kafi* 64.
41. Ibid., *Kafi* 73.
42. This Kafi is quoted by L. Rama Krishna which she reportedly obtained from Mirasi Maula Baksh of Lahore.
43. Maula Baksh Kushta, op., cit., p. 107.
44. Shamim Choudhury, op. cit., p. 97.
45. Ibid., p. 95.
46. Ibid., p. 96.
47. Shamim Choudhury, op. cit., p. 95.
48. Ibid., p. 95.
49. Bulleh Shah's *Kafi* 71.
50. Madho Lal Husain's *Kafi* 90.
51. The same thought is beautifully described both by Madho Lal Husain (*Kafi* 129) and Bulleh Shah (*Kafi* 44.).
52. Madho Lal Husain's *Kafi* 90.
53. *Qanun-i-Ishq*, Vol. II, *Kafi* 70.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

SAYYID WARIS SHAH

Great Sufi Poets of The Kashmir

HAZIRI WARIS SHAI

SAYYID WARIS SHAH

(C1699—1772)

Sayyid Waris Shah is by far the greatest Punjabi poet and holds the same position in Punjabi, which Shakespeare has in English and Kalidas in Sanskrit. Punjabi literature is ever indebted to him for giving an honourable status to the language, composite civilization and culture of the Punjab. The tale of Hir and Ranjha is the principal composition of the master-poet which is encyclopaedic in its comprehension, above all religious, communal and parochial barriers; it is poetry of the human heart, universal in its outlook, mystic in its appeal and Sufis have discovered in it gems of divine knowledge.

Very little is known about the life of Waris Shah. Whatever we know, we have gathered it from his writings. He was the son of Sayyid Qutab Shah of Jandiala Sher Khan in Sheikhpura district. After his preliminary education at his place of birth, he came over to Kasur and had his advanced education under Maulavi Ghulam Muhiyuddin² who used to teach in Jama Masjid in Kasur fort³ and also from Makhdum Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza. He himself gives out this information in the following verse :

وارش شاه وسنیک جندیا لڑے را
تے شاگرد مخدوم قصور دا ای

वारस शाह वसनीक जण्डयालड़े दा
ते शागिर्द मखदूम कसूर दा ई ।

Waris Shah wasnik jandialare da
Shagird makhdum Kasur da ee.

(Waris Shah is the inhabitant of Jandiala and a pupil
of Makhdum of Kasur.)

He was well versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. After acquiring advanced learning at Kasur, Waris Shah went to Pak Pattan for advanced spiritual studies and knowledge of Sufism from the then *sajjada-nashin* of Hazrat Baba Farid⁴. He was initiated into Sufism and acquired Sufistic attainments. On his

return from Pak Pattan, he came to Mauza Thatha Jahad, where, in an old mosque, he discharged the duties of an Imam and also held religious discourses for the people and gave them advices⁵. There was a love episode in the life of Waris Shah which is said to be responsible for the composition by him of the romantic tale of Hir and Ranjha. It is said that near the mosque at Mauza Thatha Jahad, there was a settlement of *Lohars* (iron-smiths). One of the women of *Lohars*, by the name of Bhag Bhari, used to regularly bring food for the Imam. In the process, both were struck by the arrow of cupid and had fallen in love with each other. The *Lohars*, on knowing about it, were greatly agitated and are said to have given a good thrashing to Waris Shah and compelled him to leave the village⁶. Thus the love affair ended unhappily for him. Waris Shah came to the township of Malika Hans where he completed the romantic tale of Hir and Ranjha in 1766 A.D. The name Bhag Bhari has indeed appeared in the tale in eight or nine places and, everywhere, it can be interpreted in its literal sense, meaning, fortunate lady.

Scholars are at variance about the romantic episode at Thatha Jahad. It is true that the veracity of the Bhag Bhari romance cannot be ascertained from any authentic source. According to some, this is nothing but the imaginative conception of over-zealous admirers of Waris Shah who want to prove that the tale of Hir and Ranjha composed by him is the direct outcome of the failure of romance in the life of Waris Shah. According to others, the love story alluded to is true and they quote from Waris Shah's composition, as under -

مردن شوق ہر باقیہ جڑنے دامدوں عشق دی گل انہار ہوئی

तद्दौ शौक होया किस्सा जोड़नेदा जद्दौ इश्क दी गल इज़हार होई

Taddon shauq hoya qissa jorne da jaddon ishq di gall izhar hoī

(Then I was enamoured to write the *qissa* (of Hir and Ranjha) when Love manifested itself in my heart.)

About affirmation of his own love, Waris Shah writes -

مشتوق دیاں بانکیاں شوق نیناں وارث شاہ جیسے مجذوب کیے

माशूक दियाँ बाँकियाँ शोख नैनाँ वारस शाह जैसे मजज़ूब कीते

Mashooq diyan bankian shokh nainan waris shah jaise majzoob kite

(The beautiful bright eyes of the beloved, captured the hearts of the likes of Waris Shah.)

Waris Shah, looking at the unprecedented success achieved by his *Qissa*, admits as under -

دارش شاه تغیر دی عقل کتھے
اے پٹیاں عشق پڑھائیاں ہن

وارس شاہ فقیر دی اکال کیتھے
اے پٹھیاں ایشق پڈھایاں ہن !

*Waris Shah faqir di aqqal kithe
eh pattian ishq padhaiyan hun*⁸.

(It is beyond the wisdom of *faqir* Waris Shah (to write the *Qissa* of Hir and Rajha), (but) these lessons are taught by love.)

After completing the *Qissa* of Hir and Ranjha, Waris Shah was on his way to his native place and, in the course of his journey, he had a short sojourn at Kasur, where the fame of his *Qissa* had already reached, among others, his teacher. He called on his teacher at Kasur who appeared greatly annoyed and reprimanded him and said, "I taught Bulleh Shah and he has taken up *Sarangi* (a musical instrument, meaning has become a Sufi musician); I taught you and you have indulged in *Qissas* of love." Waris Shah stayed for the night at his teacher's place. In the early morning, when he got up, he sang from his *Hir* and explained to his teacher that he has written this *Qissa* on the Soul yearning for meeting with the Divine Beloved and recited the following, among other, verses from his *Hir* -

اے روح قلبوت دا ذکر سارا نال عقل دے میل بولایا

اے رُہ کلبوت دا زیکر سارا نال اکال دے مِل بولایا اے

*Eh rooh qalboot da zikar sara nal aqqal de mel bulaya ee*⁹

(This entire reference is about Soul meeting with the Divine Beloved which has been contrived with great wisdom.)

and the following -

میر روح تے پاک قلبوت مانو بان تہ اہ بیر نیایا
بھی بیر نے تیج حواس تیرے جہاں تہا پناں تیرے خون لایا اے

हीर रुह ते चाक कुलबूत जानो बाल नाथ ऐ पीर बनाया ई
पजँ पीर ने पँज हवास तेरे जिन्हँ थापना तुध नूँ लाया ई।

*Hir rooh te chak qalboot jano balnath nun pir banaya ee
Punj pir ne punj hawas tere jinhan thapana tudh nun laya ee.*¹⁰

(Hir is the Soul and Ranjha is the Divine Beloved, Balnath is made into a *pir* (saintly teacher); five *pirs* (alluded to in the *Qissa* are Khawaja Khizr, Farid Ganji-Shakar, Shahbaz Qalandar, Baha-al-Haqq Zakaria, and Sayyid Jalal of Bukhara) are, in fact, your five senses which are bestowed on you.)

While Waris Shah was reciting select verses from the *Qissa*, the teacher got so engrossed in the enchanting poetry that a seance-like situation prevailed over Makhdum Hafiz Ghulam Murtaza who was transported to the great heights of spiritualism and could not check himself to remark that priceless pearls of great wisdom had been strung into a rosary of jute-thread by the miracle of Waris Shah. In those days, Punjabi was not considered the language of the learned; to give a simile of jute-thread to Punjabi tongue may or may not be true, but that the writings of Waris Shah are priceless pearls, there is no doubt.

Waris Shah came back to Jandiala Sher Khan and lived there till the end of his life. On his death he was buried there and now an imposing mausoleum is constructed over his remains. A commemorative stone tablet is also affixed in the mosque where he spent early part of his life at Thatha Jahad.

HIS HIR

The tale of Hir and Ranjha is the principal composition of Waris Shah. It appears that Waris Shah was persuaded by friends to write this story in Punjabi verse, although it had been written in Punjabi and Persian before, and he seems to have been benefitted from all the previous versions. The first writer and creator of this story was Damodar Arora of Jhang, who composed the story in Punjabi verse. He was followed by Ahmad Kavi (in Punjabi verse), Muqbil (in Punjabi verse), Gurdas (in Persian prose), Shah Fakhrulla Lahauri Afrin (in Persian verse), Pandit Mansa Ram Munshi Sialkoti (in Persian prose), Sundar Das Aram (in Persian Verse) and Waris Shah (in Punjabi verse). There

are many writers who composed this tale even after Waris Shah. Altogether eight versions of this tale are written in Persian and thirty-five in Punjabi¹¹. Of all the writers who have told and retold the story of Hir and Ranjha, it is admitted, none has equalled, no question of excelling the fame and beauty of the tale as told by Waris Shah.

Young people consider Waris Shah's Hir and Ranjha a climax in romantic stories. The older generation derives special pleasure in his graceful presentation of a kaleidoscopic view of life. Sufis, with their extraordinary vision and perception, find ample evidence of mysticism and divine knowledge in his verses. It is encyclopaedic in its comprehension yet above every religious, communal and parochial barrier; it is poetry of the human heart, universal in its outlook and appeal, disseminating the sweet fragrance of sympathy for human beings everywhere. In short, the story of Hir and Ranjha, as depicted by Waris Shah, is an album of colourful and enchanting pictures of life in the Punjab, of varied views but always deeply absorbing.

STORY OF HIR AND RANJHA

The story of Hir and Ranjha is a simple one. It is the story of romance of two young souls, passionately yearning for each other. The story had its origin in Sargodha district, in the village of Takht Hazara, where lived an opulant and well-to-do zamindar by the name of Mauju Chowdhury. He belonged to the Ranjha clan of Jats and had eight sons. The youngest one, known as Dhedu became famous under his clan name of Ranjha, the hero of this tale.

Ranjha, being the youngest and handsomest of all the sons, was pampered by his father. This made him easy - going and addicted to a soft cosy life. He was inclined more towards playing the flute than tilling the fields. He was most proficient in playing the flute whose thrilling notes satisfied the subtle and poetic trend of his fancy; but this occupation did not provide him his subsistence.

On the death of his father, unable to face the hardships of farming, and being constantly taunted and teased by his brothers and their wives, Ranjha bid farewell to his paternal home. With a blanket around his shoulders and a flute in his hand, Ranjha gave a last look at the minarets of Takht Hazara and turned steps towards the south.

Ultimately he reached a spot on the bank of the river Chenab from where he could see the fields and houses of Jhang territory.

Tired from his long journey and fanned by fresh cool breezes from the green fields, Ranjha decided to rest on a cosy bed in a sedan-boat left unattended. Soon he was lulled to sleep by the even ripples that rocked the boat like a cradle and by the soft music of splashing waves.

Jhang was the stronghold of Rajputs known as Syals. These Jats were proud of their ancestry and considered themselves a superior race. They thought it derogatory to give their daughters in marriage to the neighbouring Jats. There were rich and influential Jats among the Syals, and one of them was Chuchak, the father of the beautiful Hir.

Whether it was an accident or preordained by the gods, it happened that the bed on which Ranjha fell asleep belonged to the beautiful lissome Hir. While he was sleeping, Hir came to her boat with some other girls. When she saw Ranjha, she flew into a rage.

But when she drew nearer and had a close look at his handsome face and stately figure and pondered over the great abandon with which he had dared to use her bed, she fell in love. With a touch of flowery bough, she roused him and, with the excitement of youth's first encounter with love, they stood bewitched by the charm of each other. In that enchanted moment they realized that love transcends pride and anger and recognizes no caste. The romantic surroundings, brushed by the cool breeze of the river, kindled the latent sparks of love into a consuming flame. Each professed submission to the other.

In the Jhang of the Syals the peaches were ripe and bunches of the low-hanging grapes added romance to the effusive youth of Hir and Ranjha. Chuchak, at the insistence of his daughter, Hir, employed Ranjha to look after the buffaloes, and a new chapter opened in the lives of both Hir and Ranjha. Each day he would take the buffaloes to the riverside and Hir, on some pretext or other, would stealthily meet him there.

In the lull reigning supreme over the banks of the Chenab melodies of the flute of Ranjha had their rapturous effect on Hir. Their hearts drew nearer to each other.

But love can in no way obliterate the bitter realities of life and, on the contrary, often brings them into sharper contrast. There were occasions when Ranjha made up his mind to throw off his yoke of service. Hir's father and

brother sometimes admonished Ranjha and used harsh words towards him because of his addiction to a lazy life of flute-playing. Ranjha thought of leaving Jhang as he had earlier left Takht Hazara. But the apologies and entreaties of Hir always kept him back.

Years rolled by in this way and the easy-going Ranjha was reconciled to being a cowherd as long as he could be in the esoteric company of his Hir. Chuchak was happy, too, since he found in Ranjha a free slave to work for him. Ranjha would have lived his whole life contentedly in this manner had no severe upheaval changed the course of events.

There arose a serious impediment, however, to his hide and seek game of love. His secret meetings with Hir on the river bank became known to some villagers and Hir's uncle, Kaido, witnessed one rendezvous and reported it to his brother, Chuchak. Kaido urged Chuchak to find a suitable husband for Hir before the respected name of the family was disgraced.

The Rajput Jats of the Khera clan from the village of Rangpur in the district of Muzaffargarh were as famous and influential in their own territory as the Syals were in Jhang and both clans belonged to the same stock. Saida, a Khera, was selected as a match for Hir of the Syal.

Hir tried her best to stop the marriage to Saida but without success. Saida came, married the lovely girl and took her away despite her cries of protest and open declaration of her love for Ranjha.

Ranjha, stricken with grief, left Jhang. In his wanderings, he eventually came upon a place called Tilla Balnath or Tilla Guruan near Jhelum. He had his ears pierced and became a disciple of Jogi Balnath. He remained in the Balnath Ashram for a long time.

But again his love for Hir made him restless and, in a Jogi's garb and a begging bowl in his hands, he wandered into the streets of Rangpur, the new home of his beloved, Hir.

Through the connivance of Saida's sister, Sehti, the Jogi was brought into the house on the pretext of curing Hir who feigned to be bitten by a snake. Thus the pair managed to escape from Rangpur.

The Kheras pursued the lovers and overtook them, but one night Hir and Ranjha again succeeded in freeing themselves and escaped from the Kheras.

Ranjha and Hir were left with only two choices : either to live as nomads or to settle down to a peaceful life with the consent of Hir's parents. Preferring the latter, they went to Jhang.

Generous-hearted Chuchak agreed to marry his daughter to Ranjha but his wicked brother, Kaido, again interfered and advised Chuchak to persuade Ranjha to bring a marriage party from his native Takht Hazara, and to marry Hir ceremoniously according to family customs. Ranjha went to Takht Hazara as advised. To vindicate the family honour, Kaido, in the meantime, poisoned Hir as a result of which she died.

A messenger was sent to inform Ranjha that death had claimed Hir. In haste Ranjha was taken to Hir's tomb. In deep despair he knelt over Hir's grave and incessantly wept and prayed for her return to his embrace. When he realized this could not be, he prayed that he might follow her. Before long his prayer was granted and Ranjha and Hir were united in death.

Thus the tragic tale of love and disappointment came to an abrupt end. Compunction and fear were the two main components woven into the fabric of this tale in such a manner that the story found a prominent place among the tragedies of the world.

Fidelity, perseverance and courage are the main features of the story and, because it is a story from among the common people, unattached to courts or durbars, it holds sway throughout the overwhelmingly agricultural population of the Punjab.

The story, particularly its end, is reminiscent of Romeo and Juliet. The interest of the story lies, chiefly, in its artistic significance and what it tells us of the joys and sorrows of the human heart. One comes to the conclusion that life is always worth seeing and worth living.

HIS POETRY

Hir and Ranjha is an immortal love classic of the Punjab comparable to the other world classics such as Laila Majnun, Shirin Farhad, and Romeo Juliet. The story is written in ballad form of poetry by many poets beginning from Damodar Arora of Jhang in the sixteenth century but the most popular is by the eighteenth century Sufi poet, Waris Shah, whose narration is the richest in this allegorical poem. It is, in fact, his poem that has given the Hir-Ranjha

its perennial appeal. Even Insha, Urdu court-poet of Lucknow, on hearing Waris Shah's *Hir*, said -

سنا یا رات کو قصہ حیر رانجہ کا
تو اہل درد کو پنجاہیوں نے لوٹ لیا

सुनाया रात को किस्सा जो हीर रँझे का
तो एहले दर्द को पँजाबीयों ने लूट लिया ।

Sunaya rat ko qissa jo hir ranjhe ka
To ahle dard ko punjabion ne loot liya.

(When yesternight the tale of Hir and Ranjha was retold,
the Punjabis touched all hearts that had any feeling.)

Thomas Hardy has observed that in poetry is "concentrated the essence of all imaginative and emotional literature," and in every epoch the poets have provided some of the most sublime expressions of man's genius and some of the most profound insights into the nature of human experience. In the *Hir* of Waris Shah, we find not only the sublime expressions but also ample evidence of some of the most profound insights into the nature of human experience. In the *Hir*, we find a lyrical poem of high order which is full of remarkable vitality. Poetry of Waris Shah, besides being lyrical, is also narrative and descriptive. His verses show a great strength, sweetness, mastery in beauty, and tenderness of feeling, thus attaining loftier and finer excellence.

The poetry of Waris Shah is not restricted to any particular aspect of life, but it deals with all aspects which encompass human endeavours, particularly related to the life as it existed then in the vast, fertile plains of the Punjab. While going through his poem, one gets vivid glimpses of villagers ploughing their fields, and, not infrequently, quarrelling over the division of land and indulging in petty squabbles; somewhere one finds a Maulavi preaching in a mosque, or a Qazi solemnizing a marriage, or a Pundit making out his astrological calculations to declare an auspicious moment for its celebrations; sometimes one finds a scene of gaiety of a marriage party and sometimes one finds, quite unexpectedly, witnessing a tragic death scene. One finds boatmen rowing their boats and cowherds looking after their flocks. At places there are bickerings in the community and at other places the subtle issues of love and beauty discussed. Worldly people are shown busy in their mundane things whereas the *sadhus*, the *faqirs* and wandering mendicants are busy in their spiritual pursuits. Whenever he describes jats, he employs their language,

and when the conversation of women is brought in, he speaks in their language. His description is so true and natural that only a providentially gifted master-mind could have done this. The tale of Hir and Ranjha as depicted by Waris Shah is an album of colourful and interesting pictures of the life in the Punjab as it was then lived. In short, it is poetry of the human heart, diffusing the sweetness of sympathy for human beings.

SIGNIFICANCE OF *HIR* FOR SUFIS

Waris Shah himself and most of the Sufis have given it an allegorical garb. They try to canonize the story with mystic significance. Hir, the real beloved, is the human soul; Ranjha is the Divine Beloved sought. Hir's couch in the sedan-boat is the *pulsirat* (*Siratul Mustaqim* of the Quran) which is interpreted as the code of conduct; five pirs are five senses; Hir's father as the philosophy of ethics; and Kaido is Satan personified.

At Hir's tomb, five kilometres outside the town of Jhang, a mausoleum is built Mughal-style, one is faced with the same sort of allegorical significance. It is open from above, meaning that, for the flight of the human soul for meeting with the Lord, all paths are open from earth to heaven. There are windows to all the four directions but one of these significantly remains ever closed facing Rangpur. This window in the wall facing Rangpur shows that the gate of death is shut to the soul which can soar in all other regions, for it has attained eternity.

Mystical verse has played an important part in the lives of the Sufis of the Punjab. They composed poems, songs and hymns praising the Beloved, describing the pain and sorrow inflicted by separation and ultimately the joy, peace and happiness attained in union as we see in the immortal love-story of Hir and Ranjha.

POPULARITY OF *HIR*

In about 1860 A.D., printing press was introduced in the Punjab and Waris Shah's *Hir*, among other *Qissas* and compositions, was published which became very popular. The popularity of this *Qissa*, particularly, prompted one milk-merchant by the name of Mian Rukan Din to request the famous poet, Mian Hidayatulla, to edit and add, where necessary, in Waris Shah's *Hir* so that *waddi* (big) *Hir* could be published¹² Mian Hidayatulla added nearly 836

couplets (1672 lines) in the *Hir* under the name of Waris Shah and they are so nicely blended in the entire *Qissa* that, had it not been specifically mentioned and marked in the book, it would not have been possible to make out which is original of Waris Shah and which is added by Hidayatullah¹³. The following, among other verses, are added by Mian Hidayatulla :

دولی چڑھدیاں ماریاں ہیر چیکاں
مینوں لے چلے بابلا لے چلے وے

डोली चढदेयाँ मारियाँ हीर चीकाँ
मैनुँ लै चले बाबला लै चले वे

*Doli chadhdian marian Hir cheekan
mainu lai challe babla lai challe we*

(While getting into the palanquin (*doli*) after wedding,
Hir cried out, O father, they are taking me away etc.)
(11 couplets)

or such as

گیا بھج تقدیر دے نال ٹھوٹھا
قیمت لے جا ساتھوں مٹ دی وے

गया भज तकदीर दे नाल ठूठा
कीमत लै जा साथौं मट्ट दी वे

*Gaya bhajj taqdir de nal thutha
qimat lai ja satthon matt di we*

(The earthen bowl, by fate, is broken and take away
the price of earth from us, etc.) (11 couplets)

The amended *Hir* was greatly appreciated by the people which was sold out promptly. Then Mian Piranditta Taragar, a renowned poet, who was by profession a tailor, also added about 596 couplets (1192 lines) in the already amended *Hir* of Waris Shah and marked them and published the same under the title : *Sab ton Waddi te Mukkammal Hir (The Largest and Complete Hir)*¹⁵. The following, among other verses, are added by Mian Piranditta Taragar :

گڈی طبع نون لٹری ڈور دے کے واوانال پریم اڈایاں میں !
قطع در زیاں والیاں سرجہ کے تے کتراں رنگ برنگ طایاں میں !

गुडी तबा नूँ लम्बड़ी डोर दे के वाउ नाल प्रेम उडाइयाँ में
कत्ता दरज़ीआँ वालियाँ सोच के ते कात्राँ रगँ बरगँ मिलाइयाँ में ।

Guddi taba' nun lambarri dor de ke wa nal prem uddaiyan main
Katta' darzian walian soch ke te katraan rang berang milaiyan main.

(By giving long string to the kite of wishes, with the breeze of love I had it flying high; by thinking and cutting pieces like the tailors, I joined the cut-pieces of different colours together.)

In the simile of joining cut-pieces of different colours by Piranditta Taragar, he has not only spoken from his heart but also has betrayed his profession.

Many other poets also tried to interpolate their verses in the *Hir* of Waris Shah but they in their attempts were not very successful as their poetic compositions fell far short of the maturity of the poetry of Waris Shah and were not popular with the people and thus rejected.

EXTRACTS FROM THE *HIR*

The verses taken from the *Hir* of Waris Shah are, sometimes, so gripping that similar examples are difficult to be found in any other literature. In the following verse, he explains the importance of having a *Murshid* (Master) :

بنامرشد راه نہ پتہ آون
دودھ باج نہ رچدی کھیر میان

बिना मुर्शदाँ राह ना हथ आवन
दद्ध बाज ना रिज दी खीर मियाँ ।

Binnan murshidan rah na hath aawan
dudh baaj na rijhdi kheer Mian.

(Without the guidance of *murshids* (masters), the path is not found : just as without milk, rice-pudding cannot be made.)

About the nature of women, wandering faqirs, sword and horse, Waris Shah has explained that they can never be depended upon -

دارث رن فقیر توار گھوڑا
چارے تھوک اہ کیے یار ناہیں

वारस रन्न फ़कीर तलवार घोड़ा
चारे धोक एह किसे दे यार नाही

*Waris rann, faqir, talwar, ghora
chare thok eh kisse de yar nahin.*

(Waris says that woman, wandering mendicant, sword and horse, all the four are never friends of anyone.)

The measure of popularity of a writing can be judged from the quotations which become very popular among the people, in general, just as -

سوٹا پیر ہے زنگریاں تیگریاں دا
تے شیطان استاد مراسیاں دا

सोटा पीर है विगड़याँ तिगड़याँ दा
ते शैतान उसताद मरासियाँ दा ।

*Sota pir hai wigdian tighdian da
te shaitan ustad marasian da.*

(The staff is the master of the spoiled and Satan is the teacher of the jesters.)

The importance of brothers in the community is greatly emphasised in the following verses which brothers tell Ranjha at the time of his parting from them -

بھائیاں باجھ نہ مجلساں سوہندیاں نیں
آتے بھائیاں باجھ بہار ناہیں
بھائی مرن تے پوندیاں بچے بائیاں
بھائی بھائیاں بھرے پروار ناہیں
لکھ اوٹ ہے کول دسندیاں دی
بھائیاں گیاں جیڑی کوئی ہار ناہیں
بھائی ڈھاندے بھائی اسار دے نیں
بھائیاں باجھ بیلی کوئی یار ناہیں

भाईयाँ बाझ ना मजलसाँ सोहन्दीआँ ने
अते भाईयाँ बाझ बहार नाही
भाई मारन ते पौन्दीयाँ भज बाईयाँ
बिना भाईयाँ भरे परवार नाही

लख ओट है कोल वसेन्दीयाँ दी
भाईयाँ ग्याँ जेडी कोई हार नाही
भाई ढावन्दे भाई उसार दे ने
भाईयाँ बाझ बेली कोई यार नाही ।

Bhaiyan bajh na majlassan sohndiyan nen
ate bhaiyan bajh bahar nahin
Bhai maran te paundian bhajj baiyan
binan bhaiyan bhare parwar nahin
Lakh ot hai kaul wasendian di
bhaiyan gayan jedi koi har nahin
Bhai dhaonde bhai ussar de ne
bhaiyan bajh beli koi yar nahin.

(Without the brothers, gatherings are uninteresting, and without brothers there is no spring; if brothers die the arms are broken, and without brothers, the families are incomplete; there are hundred thousand protections in the families, there is no greater defeat when the brothers leave; brothers not only bring about decline but also rise and without brothers there is no good friend.)

While describing the beauty of Hir, Waris Shah has employed appropriate homilies and metaphors -

ہونٹ سرخ یا قوت جاں لال چمکن
ٹھوڑی سیب ولایتی سار وچوں
دند چبے دی لڑی کر ہنس موتی
دانے نکلے حسن انار وچوں
نک الف حسین دا پیپلا اے
زلف ناگ خزانے دی بار وچوں
نکھی چین کشمیر تصویر جستی
قد سرد بہشت گزار وچوں

होटें सुख याकूत जाँ लाल चमकन
ठोडी सेब विलायती सार विचाँ
ददँ चम्बे दी लड़ी के हसँ मोती
दाने निकले हुस अनार विचाँ

नक अलफ़ हुसैन दा पीपला ए
 जुल्फ़ नाग ख़ज़ाने दी बार विचौं
 लिखी चीन कशमीर तसवीर जड़ी
 कद सरु बहिशत गुलज़ार विचौं ।

*Hont surkh yakut jan lal chamkan
 thodi seb wilayati saar wichon
 Dand chambe di ladi ke hans moti
 dane nikle husn anar wichon
 Nakk alif husain da pipla ae
 zulf nag khazane di bar wichon
 Likhi cheen kashmir taswir jatti
 kad saru bahisht gulzar wichon.*

(Her lips were as red as a ruby and her chin like an apple of the north (Kashmir or Kabul - both are famous for apples). Her teeth were like the pearls and beautiful as the seeds of pomegranate. Her nose was like the blade of Husain's sword; her locks were like black cobras sitting on the treasurers of the Deserts. She was the picture of a woman of China and Kashmir (famous for beautiful women) and she stood like a cypress in the garden of Paradise.)

When Hir, accompanied by friends, finds Ranjha sleeping on her couch in the sedan-boat and is terribly annoyed at the audacity of a complete stranger, she says -

جانی کئی راج ہے چوچکے دا
 آوے کیسے دی کنیہ پرداہ مینوں
 میں تاں دھڑو کے پتنگ توں جاشاں
 آیا کہدرواں راہ بادشاہ مینوں
 نہیں پتنگ تے ایس نوں مکن رینا
 لارہے گا لکھجے داہ مینوں
 ناڈو شاہ دا پُت کہ شیر نامی
 پاس دھکیاں لیکھا دھا مینوں
 اہے خیمے ہزار غلام میٹھے
 اتے ایس دی نہیں جے چاہ مینوں
 ایہ بودلا پر بغداد گنگا
 میٹے آن میٹھا دار شاہ مینوں

जावानी कमली राज है चूचके दा
 आवे किसे दी कीह परवाह मैं
 मैं तों धरु के पलना तों जा सुड्डा
 आया किधरों ऐ बादशाह मैं
 नहीं पलना ते ऐस नूँ टिकन देना
 ला रहेगा लख जे वाह मैं
 नाडू शाह दा पुत के शेर हाथी
 पास ढुकियाँ लै गा ढाह मैं
 एहदे ज्ये हज़ार गुलाम मे थे
 अते ऐस दी नहीं जे चाह मैं
 ऐहा बूदला पीर बग़दाद गुग्गा
 मेले आन बैठा वारिस शाह मैं ।

*Jawani kamali raj hai chuchake da
 away kisse di kih parwah mainu
 Main tan dhru ke palang ton ja suttan
 aya kidhron eh badshah mainu
 Nahin palang te es nun tikan dena
 la rahega lakh je wah mainu
 Nadu shah da put keh sher hathi
 paas dhukkian laiga dha mainu
 Ehde jaye hazaar ghulam metha
 atte es di nahin je chah mainun
 Eha budla pir baghdad gugga
 mele aan baitha waris shah mainu.*

(Hir said, "Youth is impertinent and does he not know that this is the kingdom of my father Chuchak ? I care for no one, I will pull him and throw him away least caring if he is a king of some place. Be he a lion, an elephant or the son of a noble, I couldn't care less. Does

he think he is the son of Nadu Shah (a banker of renown) or that he is the *pir* of Baghdad ? I have thousand slaves like him and, Waris Shah, I care not a bit for such as he.")

Ranjha, in his first encounter with Hir, says -

رانجھا آکھدا ایہہ جہان سُفنا
چھڈ جا وٹائیں متوالے نی !
تُساں جیہاں پیاریاں ایہہ لازم
آئے گئے مسافراں پالے نی !
ایڑا حُسن دانہ گمان کیجے
ایہہ لے پلنگ سنے نہالے نی !
اساں رب دا آسرا رکھیا
اُٹھ جا وٹائیں نیناں والے نی !

रँझा आखदा ऐह जहान सुफना
छड जावना ई मतवालिये नी ।
तुसाँ ज्यौँ प्यारेयौँ एह लाज़म
आए गए मुसाफ़रौँ पा लइये नी ।
एडा हुसन दा ना गुमान कीजे
ऐहा लै पलन्ग सन्ने नहा लइये नी ।
असाँ रब्व दा आसरा रखिया ई
उठ जावना ई नैनाँ वालिये नी ।

*Ranjha akhda eha jahan sufana
chhad jawana ee matwaliye ni
Tussan jehan piarian eh lazam
aye gaye musafaran pa laiye ni
Eda husan da na guman kijiye
eha lai palang sanne naha laiye ni
Assan rabb da asara rakhiya ee
uthth jawanan ee naina waliye ni.*

(Ranjha said to Hir, "This world is like a dream. Even you, proud lady, has to leave it; for the dear ones like you, it is necessary that you should be kind to the strangers; do not feel haughty of your beauty, take back your couch and quilt; I depend on God and will depart hence to be seen no more.")

When the scandal of clandestine meetings of Hir and Ranjha in the forest spread out in the village, Chuchak dismisses Ranjha from the post of cowherd and tells him to go away. Ranjha, being perplexed in heart, goes to Mithi, the barber woman, and asks her concerning the ways of women and love. Mithi replies in the following words —

میٹھی پولدی جیو تدبیر کر کے تینوں دسناں را نچھا چھو ہر اوسے
مال عشق را کھول سناونی مان چہیڑا ورتیا بھورا بھورا دے
پندھ عاشقاں دا چلنا بہت اوکھا راہ عشق دا اوہرا سوہرا دے
مڑہ عشق آکھڑا لے زہر وانگوں تلی گھت کے چکنا موہرا دے
کالے عشق دے حرف جیوں ناک میٹھے کڈل گھت کے تیرا چہرا دے
بھیت عشق دے نوں سوئی جائڈے مرد رند جہ عقل دا گوہرا دے

انیس عشق غذا کھیاں دا اٹکے تیل دا کھڑا انہرا دے
عشق ترق کھیاں دے عیاں دا شیخ زادیاں دا زور دے
دایا ما جیوں عشق سی سکھنی دا انہوں پیا چاں اوہرا دے
لٹ پٹا ہے عشق بنگا لٹاں دا ہندوستاناں دا چھوہرا دے
توڑے کدا عشق کواریاں دا دنیا سب راہت نہرا دے
چی دانگ ہے عشق کھڑاں دا اتے باہمی دا کھڑا کھیر کھائی

کھلا عشق توں دیکھ پائیاں دا اتے پشور ناں پر دے وچ پائی
عشق جیہ وطن سیالیاں دے جھنگ باب تے ندی چنا ما پی
عشق سر ہے قدرت رب دی دا چنڈے نیکھ کھیا بھولی وچ پائی
حال دیکھ توں عاشقاں ساریاں دارب نبی دا عشق چتا ریائی
آدم خواہشت تھیں کڈھ باہر دوا تہر تے خون گزار پائی
اسمیں نوں اپنے دے کیتا چنچہ چا حلیل نوں چا ہڑ پائی
سیمان تے پک وچ تہہ ہر اسٹ تحت توں چا اجاڑ پائی

مارے مسنّ مسینؑ یزیدیاں نے اگے ربا دے حال بکار یابیؑ
 دنیا داراں دے عشق و احال دُساں مرزا گھٹ لکھاں وِج سارِیؑ
 چند ربدن معیار فرما دِ شیریں جدوں موئے تاں شکر گزار یابیؑ
 سستی پنوں سنے زمین غرق ہوئے وِج تھلاں دے خون گزارِیؑ
 سیلی مجنوں دے تن وِج دیکھ سولی قارون پہیچے زمین نگہا رابیؑ
 سرہنی دُب مویؑ مہرِ مال پیچھے یوسف کھوہ دے وِج اتارِیابیؑ

میठी बोलदी ज्यौं तदबीर करके
 तैनुँ दसनीयाँ राँझना छोहरा वे
 हाल इश्क दा खोल सुनावनी हँ
 जेहड़ा वरत्या भौरा भौरा वे
 पधँ आशकाँ दा चलना बहुत औखा
 राह इश्क दा ओहरा सोहरा वे
 मज़ा इश्क दा कौड़ा ज़हर वागूँ
 तल्ली घत के चखना मोहरा वे
 काले इश्क दे हरफ ज्यौं नाग बैठे
 कुँडल घत के तीरा चोहरा वे
 भेत इश्क दे नूँ सोई जानदा ए
 मर्द रिन्द जो अकल दा गोहरा वे
 ऐवँ इश्क ग़ज़ा घमेयारनाँ दा
 अग्ये तेलन दा खड़ा अनमोहरा वे
 इश्क तरक बघयाड़ अयालियाँ दा
 शेख ज़ादियाँ दा ज़ो ज़ोहरा वे
 दहाया माझियाँ इश्क सी सिखनी दा
 ओहनूँ प्या चनाँ दा रोहड़ा वे
 लट पटा है इश्क बग़ालनाँ दा
 हिन्दोसताननाँ दा छँछोहरा वे
 तोड़े कसदा इश्क कवारीयाँ दा
 देन्दा सजरा नित नहो हरा वे
 लुच्ची वागँ है इश्क खतरानीयाँ दा
 अते बाहमनी दा खड़ा खीर खाई

खुला इश्क तूँ वेख पहाड़ना दा
 अते पशोरनाँ दा परदे विच पाई
 इश्क जम्मियाँ वतन सियालियाँ दे
 झगँ बाप ते नदी चना माई
 इश्क सर है कुदरत रबब दी दा
 जेन्दे लेख लखाया झोली वजँ पाई
 हाल वेख तूँ आशकँ सारियाँ दा
 रबब नबी दा इश्क चतार पाया ई
 आदम हव्या बहिशत थीं कड बाहर
 वडा कहर ते खून गुज़ारिया ई
 भुल ज़करीआ लैइ पनाह हैज़म
 आरी नाल ओह चीर के फाड़िया ई
 इसमाईल नू बाप ने ज़बह कीता
 चखा चा खलील नू चाड़िया ई
 सुलेमान ते पलक विच कहर होया
 सुट तखत ताँ चा उजाड़िया ई
 मारे हसन हुसैन यज़ीदीयाँ ने
 अग्गे रबब दा हाल पुकारेया ई
 दुनियादारों दे इश्क दा हाल दस्साँ
 मिर्जा कक्खाँ विच साड़िया ई
 चन्दर बदन मइयार फ़रहाद शीरी
 जदीँ मोए ताँ शुकर गुज़ारिया ई
 स्सी पुत्रू सने ज़मी गर्क होए
 विच थल्लाँ दे खून गुज़ारिया ई
 लैला मजनूँ दे तन विच दम सूली
 कारुन हेठ ज़मीन नगहारिया ई
 सोहनी डुब मोई महीवाल पिछे
 यूसफ़ खू दे विच उतारिया ई ।

*Mithi boldi jeu tadbir kar ke
tainun dasnian ranjhana chhohra we,
Haal ashqaan khol sunaoni han
jehra wartia bhaura bhaura we.
Pandh ashqaan da chalna bahut aukha
rah ashqaan auhra sauhra we,
Maza ishq da kaura e zehar wangun
talli ghat ke chakhna mohra we.
Kale ishq haraf jeun nag baithe
kundal ghatt ke teera chohra we;
Bhet ishq de nun soi janda ai
murd rind jo aqqal da gohra we.
Aiwen ishq ghaza ghamiharnian da
agge telan da khara anmohra we,
Ishq tarq bhagiad ayalna da
sheikh zadian da zo zohra we;
Dahaya majhiyon ishq si sikhni da
ohnun pea chana da rohra we,
Lat patta hai ishq bangalanan da
hindustanan da chhanchhohra we,
Tore kassda ishq kuwarian da
denda sajra nit naho hara we.
Luchi wang hai ishq khatranian da
agge bahmani da khara khir khayee,
Khula ishq tun wekh paharnan da
atte peshauran da parde wich payee;
Ishq jammia wattan syalian de
jhang baap te naddi chana mayee,
Ishq sir hai qudrat rabb di da
jende lekh likhiya jholi wanjh payee.
Haal wekh tun ashqaan sarian da
rabb nabi da ishq chatar paya ee,
Adam hawa bahisht thin kadd bahar
wadda qehar te khun guzaria ee;
Bhull zakaria lai panah haizam
aari nal oh chir ke pharia ee,*

*Ismail nun baap ne zabah kita
chakha cha khalil nun chadhiya ee,
Sulaiman te palak wich qehar hoya
sutt takht ton cha ujaria ee,
Maare hasan husain yazidian ne
agge rabb de hal pukariya ee.
Duniya-daran de ishq da hall dassan
mirza ghat kakhan wich saria ee,
Chander badan maiyar farhad shirin
jaddon moe tan shukar guzaria ee;
Sassi punnu sane zamin gharaq hoyee
wich thallan de khun guzaria ee.
Laila majnun de tann wich dabh suli
qaroon heth zamin nigharia ee,
Sohni dubb moyee mahiwal pichhe
yusuf khu de wich uttariya ee.*

(Mithi tells young Ranjha that I will counsel you all about love and says, "The way of love is hard and the path is tortuous. The taste of love is as bitter as poison. The very letters of *Ishq* (Arabic—*Ain* ع, *Shin* ش and *Qaaf* ق) are like the coils of snakes and only very wise men know their secrets. Love to the potter woman is part of the day's work like eating and drinking; the love of a shepherdess is fierce like a wolf; the love of a Sikh woman (belonging to Sikhism, religion promulgated by Guru Nanak) is as violent as the current of the river Chenab. The Bengali woman's love is fitful. The Hindustani's is childish. A little girl's love is fretful and peevish; she is always taunting and reproaching her lover. The love of a Khatri woman is as soft as dough, and the love of a Brahmin woman is like eating the rice-pudding. The hill woman loves openly but the Peshawar woman in secret. But hark ye ! The birth-place of love is among the Syals. Jhang is the

father of Love and the Chenab is its mother. Did not Love exist from the beginning of the world ? Did not God love Muhammad ? Did not the holy saints know Love; even Adam and Eve, and Zakaria who got caught in a tree was sawn asunder ? Did not Abraham love Ismail ? Was not God displeased with King Solomon and did not He cast him down from his throne in his displeasure, in the twinkling of an eye ? Love also slew Hasan and Husain, the holy martyrs, and is not the list of earthly Lovers long and famous; even Mirza Sahiban, Chander Badan, Shirin and Farhad, Sassi and Punnu, Laila and Majnu, Sohni and Mahiwal, Yusuf and Zulaikha ?")

In the above composition, Waris Shah begins with worldly love (*Ishq-i-Majazi*), transcends the barriers and, with masterful handling, concludes by referring to *Ishq-i-Haqiqi* (the Love Divine).

When Hir was married by stratagem to Saida and put into the wedding palanquin by force, she laments in the following words :

ڈولی چڑھدیاں ماریاں ہیر چکیاں
 مینوں لے چلے بابلا لے چلے دے
 مینوں رکھ لے بابلا ہیر آکھے
 ڈولی پا کھارنی دیر چلے دے
 میرا آکھیا کدی نہ موڑ داسیں
 اوہ سے بابل کتھے گئے چلے دے

تیری چھتر تھانوی رکھ بیٹھ بابل
 جھٹ دنگ مسافراں بہ چلے دے
 دن چار نہ رنج آرام پایا
 دکھ درد مصیبتاں سہہ چلے دے

سازن بویا چایا سافت کرنا
 بیچ روز تیرے گھر رہ چلے
 جارے کتیاں میریاں دیکھ خالی
 اسیں نال ناہیں کچھ لے چلے
 کوڑی دنیائے شان گمان کوڑا
 دارش شاہ ہری سچ کہہ چلے

डोली चढदेयाँ मारियाँ हीर चीकाँ
 मैंनूँ लै चले बाबला लै चले वे
 मैंनूँ रख लै बाबला हीर आखे
 डोली पा कहार नी वैह चले वे
 मेरा आखेया कदी ना मोड दा सैं
 ओह समे बाबल किथे गए चले वे
 तेरी छतर छाँवैं रुख हेठ बाबल
 झट वाँग मुसाफ़राँ बह चले वे
 दिन चार ना रज़ आराम पाया
 दुख दर्द मूसीबताँ सह चले वे
 सानूँ बोलिया चालेया माफ़ करना
 पजँ रोज़ तेरे घर रह चले वे
 चारे कन्नियाँ मेरीयाँ वेख खाली
 अस्सी नाल नहीं कुझ लै चले वे
 कूड़ी दुनियाँ ते शान गुमान कूड़ा
 वारस शाह होसी सच्च कह चले वे ।

"Doli chad dian marian Hir chikan
 Mainun lai chale babla lai chale we
 Mainun rakh lai babla Hir aakhey
 Doli pa kahar ni weh chale we
 Mera akhia kadi na mor da sain
 Oh samay babal kithe gai chale we
 Teri chhater chhanwen rukh heth babal
 Jhat wang musafaran beh chale we

*Din char na rajj aram paya
 Dukh dard musibatan seh chale we
 Sanun bolia chalia ma'af karna
 Panj roz tere ghar reh chale we
 Chare kanniyan merian wekh khali
 Asi nal nahin kujh lai chale we
 Koodi duniya te shan guman kooda
 Waris Shah hori sach keh chale we."*

(When Hir was put into the *doli* (palanquin) after formal marriage to Saida, she makes bitter lamentation even as a swan separated from the flock and she cries out to her father to keep her and don't let her go to the in-laws.) These stanzas have all the pathos enshrined in them and Waris Shah by his mastery of diction and a profound understanding of human nature touches the heart of each and everyone when he describes the partings of a girl from her parents after her wedding which is so true and natural.

Ranjha, in the garb of a Jogi, addresses beautiful girls of Rangpur in the following verses :

جگر آکھیا خیال نہ پڑو میرے
 شینہ سب فقیر دا دیس کیا
 کوئیاں داگ مویاں دیس پھڑے
 اساں ذات صفات تے بھیس کیا
 وطن دماں دے نال تے ذات جگر
 ساڈا دیس قبیلہ خوش کیا
 جیہڑ وطن تے ذات دادھیان رکھے
 دنیا دار ہے اوہ درویش کیا

जोगी आखिया खयाल ना पयो मेरे
 शीहँ सप फ़कीर दा देस केहा
 कूँजाँ वागँ ममोलीया देस छड़े
 असाँ ज़ात सिफ़ात ते भेस केहा

वतन दम्माँ दे नाल ते ज़ात जोगी
साडा देस कबीलड़ा खेश केहा
जेहड़ा वतन ते ज़ात दा ध्यान रखे
दुनियादार है ओह दरवेश केहा ।

*Jogi akhiya khyal na peyo mere
shinh sap faqir da des keha
Kunjan wang mamolian des chhadde
assan zat safat te bhes keha
Wattan damman de nal te zat jogi
sada des kabilara khwesh keha
Jehra wattan te zat da dhiyan rakhe
duniyadar hai oh darvesh keha.*

(Jogi said, "It does not occur to me what country is for lions, serpents and wandering *faqirs* ? Like migratory birds, the cranes (*saurus*), I left my native place, what caste or creed do I have ? My country is my breaths and my caste is Jogi, what country and good clans do I have ? Those who think of their country and caste are worldly people, they cannot be renouncers (*darvesh*)."

Sehti tells Ranjha (who is in the garb of a Jogi) -

دوست سوئی جو پیت وچ نمیز کئے
یار سوئی جو جان قربان ہووے
شاہ سوئی جو کال وچ دکھ کئے
گل بات دا جو نگہبان ہووے
گاں سوئی جو سیال وچ دودھ دیوے
بادشاہ سوئی جو شابان ہووے
روگ سوئی جو نال علاج ہووے
تیر سوئی جو نال کمان ہووے
کواری سوئی جو کرے جیا بہنا
نیویں نظرتے باہجہ زبان ہووے

दोस्त सोई जो बिपत विच भैड़ कटे
 यार सोई जो जान कुर्बान होवे !
 शाह सोई जो काल विच दुख कटे
 गल बात दा जो निगहबान होवे !
 गाँ सोई जो सियाल विच दुद्ध देवे
 बादशाह सोई जो शाबान होवे !
 रोग सोई जो नाल इलाज होवे
 तीर सोई जो नाल कमान होवे !
 कुआरी सोई जो करे हया बहुता
 नीवीँ नज़र ते बाझ जुबान होवे !!

Dost soi jo bipat wich bhair katte,
yar soi jo jaan qurban hove;
Shah soi jo kaal wich dukh katte,
gall baat da jo nighbaan hove;
Gaan soi jo sial wich dudh deve,
badshah soi jo shabaan hove;
Rog soi jo naal illaj hove,
tir soi jo naal kamaan hove;
Kuwari soi jo kare haya bahuta,
nivin nazar te bajh zubaan hove.

(Friend is that who helps in difficulty, lover is that who sacrifices his life for you; *shahukar* (banker) is that who helps you during famine, who takes good care of you; cow is that which gives you milk in winter, king is that who provides protection; sickness is that which can be treated; arrow is that which is accompanied by a bow; virgin is that who has enormous humility who always keeps her eyes downwards and is tongue-tied.)

Ranjha, in the guise of a Jogi, tells Sehti -

سُن سہتی اے ایس جہان اُتے
 رب کئی پیار پساں دا نی
 نال قدرت خواہش اپنی دے
 رنگارنگ دیاں صورتاں دھاردا نی
 اک علم اندر اک جہل اندر
 اک زہد اندر دم ماردا نی
 اک نال حیا سما گئے
 اک میل بیٹھ گھر خوار دا نی

सुन सहतीये ऐस जहान उत्ते
 रब्ब कई पसार पसार दा नी
 नाल कुदरत खाहश अपनी दे
 रग़ाँ रग़ाँ दियाँ सूतीँ धार दा नी
 इक इलम अन्दर इक जहल अन्दर
 इक ज़ोहद अन्दर दम मारदा नी
 इक नाल हया समा गए
 इक मिल बैठे घर खार दा नी ।

*Sun sehtie es jahan utte
 rabb kai pasar pasarda ni,
 Naal qudrat khawhash apni de
 ranga rang dian surtaan dharda ni;
 Ikk ilam undar, ikk jehal undar
 ikk zohd undar dam marda ni,
 Ikk nal haya sama gaye
 ikk mil baithe ghar khwarda ni.*

(Listen Sehti, in this world, God manifests Himself in many ways and forms. He appears in knowledge; He appears in ignorance; He appears in renunciation, humility and He appears even at home as a householder.)

Ranjha, as Jogi, goes to Rangpur in search of Hir. He goes to Kheras and while begging for alms, claims that he can unite parted lovers and can reconcile friends who have fallen out and perform other miracles. To which Hir replies -

ہیر آکھیا جوگیا جھوٹھ آکھیں
 کون رٹھڑے یار ملا وندا ای
 ایسا کوئی نہ ملیا میں ڈھونڈ تھکی
 جیہڑا گیاں نوں موڑیا وندا ای
 سارے جم دیاں جتیاں کرے کوئی
 جیہڑا جیودا روگ گوا وندا ای
 بھلا مرنے تے وچھڑے کون میلے
 ایویں جیوڑا لوک دلا وندا ای
 اک جٹ دے کھیت زن آگ لگی
 دیکھاں آن کے کدوں بھجا وندا ای
 دیوان چوریاں گھیسو دے بال دیوے
 وارث شاہ جے سنان میں آ وندا ای

ہیر آکھیہا جوجیا جھوٹ آکھیں
 کون رٹھڑے یار میلا وندا ای
 ایسا کوئی نہ ملایا میں ڈھونڈ تھکی
 جیہڑا گیاں نوں موڑی لائو وندا ای
 ساڈے چم دیوے جوتیاں کرے کوئی
 جیہڑا جیو دا روج گوا وندا ای
 بھلا موے تے ویٹھڑے کون مےلے
 ایویں جیوڑا لوک وٹا وندا ای
 اک جٹ دے کھیت نوں آگ لگی
 دیکھاں آن کے کدو بھجا وندا ای
 دیوان چوریاں گھیسو دے بال دیوے
 وارث شاہ جے سنان میں آ وندا ای

Hir akhiya jogia jhuth akhen
kaun rudhre yar milaunda ee,
Aisa koi na milia main dhund thakki
jehra gaiyan nun mor liaonda ee,
Sade chum diyan juttian kare koi
jehra jeo da rog gawaunda ee;

*Bhalla moe te wichhrde kaun mele
even jeura lok walaunda ee,
Ikk jatt de khet nun agg laggi
wekhan aunke kadon bujhaunda ee,
Dewan choorian gheo de bal dive
Waris Shah je sunnan main aonda ee.*

(And Hir replied : "It is not true, Jogi; parted friends cannot be reunited. I have searched far and wide but have found no one who can accomplish that. Tell me when the true God will bring back the lover I have lost. If any one can remove the pain in my heart, he may make shoes of my skin. The field of a Jat caught fire and let us see when he comes to put it off. O poet Waris Shah ! If I hear that my lover is returning, I will offer sweet cakes and light my lamps with rich butter for oil.")

When Sehti throws some millet into the cup of Jogi (Ranjha), the cup falls to the ground and breaks. Jogi is annoyed and reproaches Sehti for the carelessness and she replies to the Jogi as follows -

گیا بچ تقدیر دے نال ٹھوٹھا
لیجاء قیمت ساتھوں مٹ دیا دے
تقدیر اللہ دی توں کون مرے
تقدیر پہاڑ توں پٹ دی دے
آدم خاں توں کدھ بہشت وچوں
تقدیر زمین تے خٹ دی دے
سلیمان جھوٹے بھٹ ماچھیا ندے
تختوں چا تقدیر پلٹ دی دے

موسیٰ لنگھیا پار فرعون اُسے
تقدیر دریا الٹ دی دے
یوسف جیہاں پیغمبر زادیاں توں
تقدیر کھوے درج سٹ دیا دے
داہری من تقدیر نے کن پاڑے
اڑی گدے والی آجے جٹ دیا دے

गया भज तकदीर दे नाल दूठा
 लै जा कीमत साथौ मट दी वे
 तकदीर अल्लाह दी नू कौन मोड़े
 तकदीर पहाड़ नू पट दी वे
 आदम हव्वा नूँ कड बहिशत विचौ
 तकदीर ज़मीन ते सट दी वे
 सुलेमान झोके भठ माछीयाँ दे
 तख़्तौ चा तकदीर पलट दी वे
 मूसा लगँया पार फ़रउन उते
 तकदीर दरया उलट दी वे
 यूसफ़ जेहँ पैग़म्बर ज़ादायाँ नू
 तकदीर खूए विच सट दी वे
 दाड़ी मुन्न तकदीर ने कन पाड़े
 अड़ी गद्ध वाली अजे जट दी वे ।

Gaya bhajj taqdir de nal thutha
lai ja kimat sathon matt di we.
Taqdir allah di nun kaun more
taqdir pahar nun patt di we,
Adam hawa nun kadd bahisht wichon
taqdir zamin te satt di we;
Sulaiman jhoke bhath machhian de
takhton eha taqdir palatt di we,
Musa langia par farayoon utte
taqdir darya ulatt di we,
Yusuf jehan paighambar zadean nun
taqdir khue wich satt di we,
Daari munn taqdir ne kann phadhe
arri gadhe wali aje jatt de we.

(Your earthen cup was broken by Fate, you can buy
 another at my expense if you like. Who can resist

God's decree ? Fate expelled Adam and Eve from Paradise and drove them down to earth. Fate threw Solomon among the fishermen and Fate pulled him down from his throne. Fate allowed Moses to overthrow Pharaoh into the sea and it was Fate which put a prince and a prophet like Yusuf in the well. Fate has shaved your beard and pierced your ears even when your mullish obduracy of a Jat is very much there. No one can escape from Fate.)

Ranjha, as Jogi, tells Sehti to convey his message to Hir that her lover is keen to see her; either she should come out to meet him in the garden or take him in her house, in the following words:

لے آہیر سیال جودید کرے آجا او دلبر واسطای
جاکے آکھ رانجھا تیوں عرض کردا گھنڈلاہ او دلبر واسطای
اساں عاجزاں کی تعمیر کیتی تے گناہ او دلبر واسطای
سافوں ہر دے نال دکھال صورت مکھ ماہ او دلبر واسطای

زلت ناگ وانگو کڈل گھت بیٹی نکوں لاہ او دلبر واسطای
دن رات نہ جوگی نوں فلکین دیندی تیری چاہ او دلبر واسطای
لڑکاں نیناں دیاں کالجی سلیکے لاپچاہ او دلبر واسطای
پردہ عشق تے تنگ ناموس والا بیا لاہ او دلبر واسطای

توہاں دغدیاں ہجڑے پون گولے ٹھاٹھ او دلبر واسطای
تیرے ہوشاں دی بشرتی عجب بنی دکھلاہ او دلبر واسطای
تیری چال ہے جنگ ظفال پیارے پائے سپاہ او دلبر واسطای
گھر بار و سار فقیر کیتا تیری چاہ او دلبر واسطای

लैआ हीर सियाल जो दीद करी ये
 आज़ा ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 जा के आख़ रँझा तैनु अर्ज़ करदा
 घुण्ड ला ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 असाँ आज़ाँ की तकसीर कीती
 ते गुनाह ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 सानू मेहर दे नाल वख़ाल सूरत
 मुख़ माह ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 जुल्फ़ नाग वागूँ कुण्डल घत बैठी
 ग़लौँ ला ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 दिन रात ना जोगी नू टिकन देन्दी
 तेरी चाह ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 नोक़ाँ नैनाँ दियाँ कालजा सिलया ऐ
 ला फ़ाह ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 परदा इश्क़ ते नग़ै नामूस वाला
 लेआ लाह ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 तोपाँ दग़दीयाँ हिजर दे पैन गोले
 ठा ठा ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 तेरे होठाँ दी सुख़ीँ अजब बनी
 दिखला ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 तेरी चाल है छग़ै खलख़ाल प्यारे
 पाऐ फ़ाह ओ दिलबर वासता ई
 घर बार विसार फ़कीर कीता
 तेरी चाह ओ दिलबर वासता ई

Lia hir syal jo deed kari ye

aaja oh dilbar wasta ee

Ja ke aakh ranjha tainun arz kardā

gundh la oh dilbar wasta ee

Assan aajzaan ki taqsir kiti
te gunah oh dilbar wasta ee
Sanun mehar de nal wakha surat
mukh mah oh dilbar wasta ee
Zulf nag wangun kundal ghatt baithi
gallon lah oh dilbar wasta ee
Din raat na jogi nun tikkan dendi
teri chah oh dilbar wasta ee
Nokaan nainan dian kalja sillia ai
la pha oh dilbar wasta ee
Parda ishq te nang namus wala
lia lah oh dilbar wasta ee
Topaan daghdian hijar de paun gole
thah thah oh dilbar wasta ee
Tere honthan di surkhi ajab bani
dikhla oh dilbar wasta ee
Teri chaal hai chhang khalkhal piare
pae pha oh dilbar wasta ee
Ghar baar wisar faqir keeta
teri chah oh dilbar wasta ee.

(Bring Hir, the Syal, to me and tell her: "Take off your veil, my beloved, and come. Tell me, for God's sake, what fault I have committed and show me your moon-like face. The long snake of your locks has entangled me. The arrows of your eye-lashes have pierced my heart, love has swept aside the curtain of shame from me. I am being pounded incessantly by the pangs of separation. The wondrous redness of your lovely lips, show me. Your gait is more graceful than the gait of a partridge. I have given up the world and become a *faqir* for your sake".)

When Ranjha, as Jogi, is called in by the Kheras, by the stratagem and connivance of Sehti, sister-in-law of Hir, to cure Hir's feigned snakebite, Waris Shah has shown his remarkable mastery in describing the travesty of fate decreed by using the most appropriate similes in Punjabi, such as -

جوگی چلیا روح دی کلا ہلی بتر بولیا شگن مناوے نوں
 ایتوار نہ پچھیا کھیریاں نے جوگی آنوا نے سیس مناوے نوں
 دیکھو عقل شعور جو مادیانے طعمہ باز دے تہ پھر اوئے نوں
 تھکھا کھنڈتے کھیر دا ہویا دا کھا اڑا گھلیا ساک کراوے نوں
 گرد پکیریاں تے جھوڑا ہویا اٹھ چلیا بارغ لگاوے نوں
 بیڑی کاغذ دی باندر ملاح نیبا انھا گھلیا پار لنگھاوے نوں
 ایزا گے بگھیاڑے پھیر دتا شیر چلیا مہیں چراوے نوں
 دا کھا جواں دے دھیر دا گڑھا ہویا انھاں گھلیا عرف کھاوے نوں
 سریوں دھک مکوڑیاں کول رکھی دے گکڑاں پاس کھاوے نوں

जोगी चलिया रुंह दी कला हिल्ली

तितर बोलिया शगन मनावने नू !

ऐतवार ना पुछिया खेड़ियाँ ने

जोगी आदों ने सीस मनावने नू !

देखो आकल शऊर जो मारिया ने

तम्मा बाज दे हथ फड़ावने नू !

भुखा खण्ड ते खीर दा होया राखा

रण्डा घल्लिया साक करावने नूँ !

गिदड़ कचरीयाँ ते जमादार होया

उठ चल्लिया बाग लगावने नूँ !

बेड़ी कागज़ दी बानदर मल्लाह बनया
 अन्ना चल्लिया पार लगावने नूँ !
 अईड़ अगो बघयाड़ दे छेड़ दिता
 शेर चल्लिया महीं चरावने नूँ !
 राखा जवों दे ढेर दा गन्दा होया
 अन्ना चल्लिया हरफ़ लिखावने नूँ !
 सरयाँ धक मकोड़ियाँ कोल रखी
 दाने कुकड़ों पास सुकावने नूँ ।

Jogi challia rooh di kala hilli
tittar bolia shagan manawane nun;
Aitwar na puchhia kherian ne
Jogi aanda ne sees manawane nun;
Dekho uqqal shaoor jo maria ne
ta'ma baaz de hath pharawane nun;
Bhukha khand te khir da hoya rakha
randda ghallia saak karawane nun;
Giddar kachrian da jamadar hoya
oonth ghallia bagh lagawane nun;
Beri kagaz di bandar mallah baniya
annha ghallia par langhawane nun.;
Ayyar agge baghiar de chher ditta
sher challia mahin charavanne nun;
Rakha jawwan de dher da gadhdha hoya
annha ghallia harf lakhawane nun;
Sariyon dhakk makaurian kol rakhkhi
dane kukkran paas sukawane nun.

(When the Jogi consented to go (to the house of the Kheras), the soul itself trembled and the partridge (which is considered inauspicious having unmelodious voice) sang on the right for the good luck. Thus the Kheras worked their own destruction. They least bothered to know whether it was a Sunday but brought in the Jogi to have their heads shaved.

Look ! what has happened to their wisdom and intelligence ? They (the Kheras) have put food (bird of game) in the clutches of a hawk (bird of prey). (It was as if) The hungry man was asked to look after sugar and rice pudding; widower was sent for the marriage proposal for another; jackel was put incharge of dried-up turnip cuts, camal (known for ruining vegetation) was sent to lay-out a garden; (it was like) boat of paper with monkey as the boatman, (as if) blind man was sent to get across. Flock of sheep was let loose in front of a wolf, lion was sent with the buffaloes to graze; donkey was placed incharge of a mound of millet, blind man was sent to have the words written; mustard-seeds were kept near the insects and grains were kept for drying near the chickens.)

After administering poison to Hir, when Kaido informs Hir that Ranjha has been killed, Waris Shah describes the scene and says -

جان گئی ہوا ہر محل سن کے
رانجھا مرے وقت چار داسی
دارت شاہ نوں بیک دیدار دی سی
جیہی ہیر نوں بھڑکنا یار دی سی

جان गई हवा हो गल सुन के
रँझा मरन दे वक्त चितार दी सी
वारिस शाह नू सिक दीदार दी सी
जेही हीर नू भड़कना यार दी सी ।

Jaan gaiyee hawa ho gall sunke
Ranjha maran de wakt chitar di si
Waris Shah nun sikk deedar di si
jehi Hir nun bhadkana yar di si.

(So Hir breathed her last crying, "Ranjha, Ranjha."
The poet Waris Shah says that as he is yearning for
seeing the Divine Beloved, the same way Hir was
yearning to meet her beloved, Ranjha.)

Thus both lovers passed away from this mortal world and entered into the halls of eternity. Both remained firm in love and passed away steadfast in true love.

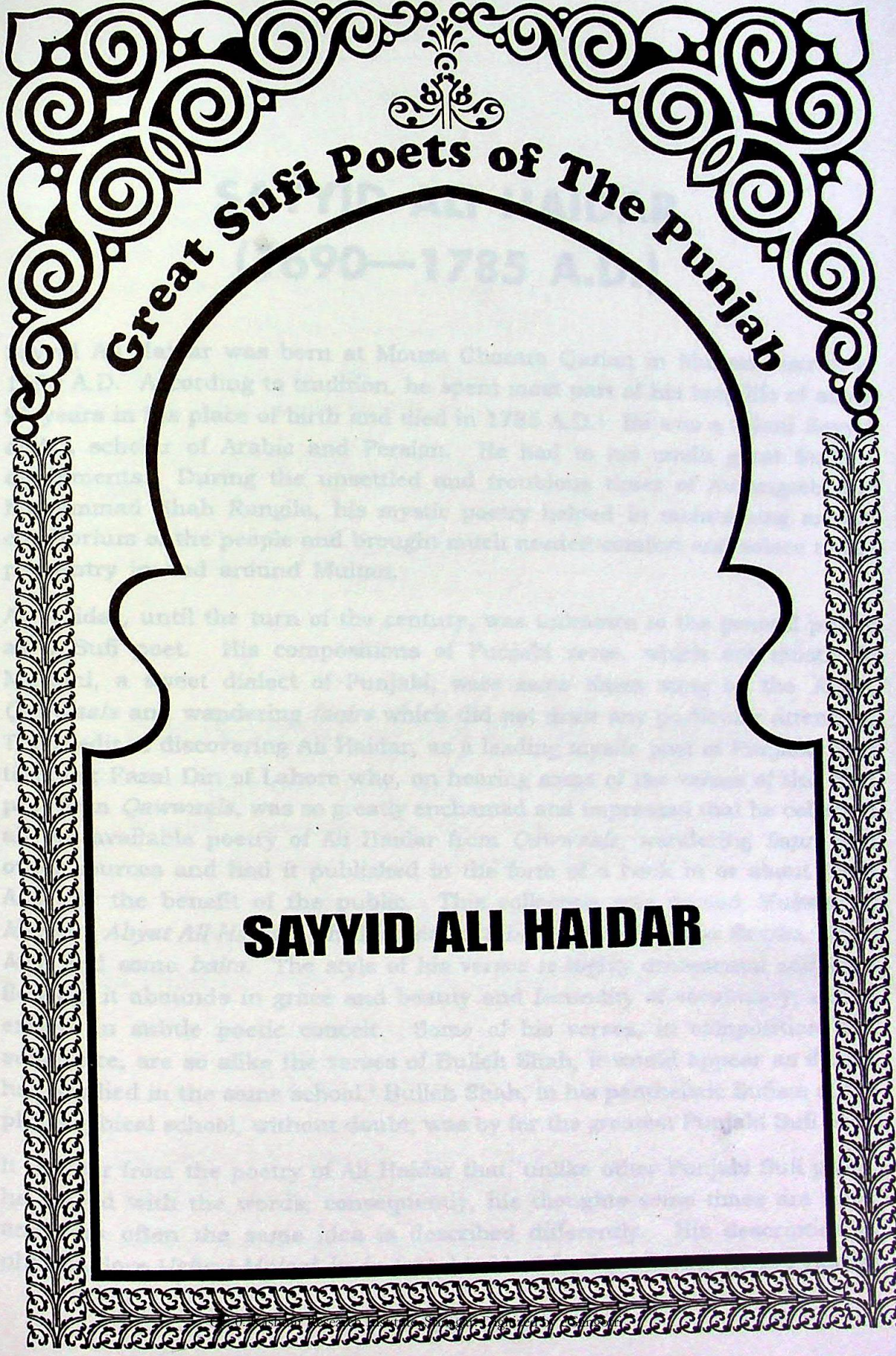
Here Waris Shah gives expression to his mysticism. It is remarkably clear how readily in his mind human and Divine imagery is interchanged. He seeks peace and tranquillity which can only be attained in the union with the Divine Beloved - the ultimate goal of a Sufi.

In Waris Shah's poetry, besides mysticism of high order, we find a remarkable combination of poetical fluency, exquisite harmony and grace greatly embellished with application of the most appropriate diction. In Punjabi poetry he is truly an artist of remarkable genius and achievement who has not been surpassed, nay, even equalled by any one else.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. Shamim Choudhury, *Punjabi Adab-o-Tarikh*, p.105.
3. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p.114.
4. Ibid., p.114.
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7. Ibid., p.115.
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10. Ibid., p.115.
11. Those who have written in Persian are :
 1. Gurdas Khatri, 2. Minnat, Mir Qamruddin, 3. Shah Fakhrullah Lahauri (1730-31 A.D.), 4. Mansa Ram Munshi Sialkoti (1744 A.D.), 5. Sundar Das Aram (1757 A.D.), 6. Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal Hindi (1840 A. D.), 7. Nawab Ahmad Yar Khan, and 8. Ganesh Das Vadehra (during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh).Those who have written in Punjabi are :
 1. Damodar Das Arora of Jhang, 2. Muqbil, 3. Waris Shah, 4. Fazal Shah, 5. Mohd. Shah, 6. Ahmad Yar, 7. Bhagwan Singh, 8. Jog Singh, 9. Allah Ditta, 10.

- Mian Mohd. Sahib, 11. Kushta of Dhab Khattian, 12. Husain by the name of *Siharfi Hir*, 13. *Siharfi Bhupal*, 14. *Siharfi Hir Roshan*, 15. *Siharfi Mian Mohd. Umar*, 16. *Siharfi Sayyid Shah Sharaf*, 17. *Siharfi Pir Ali Haidar*, 18. *Baksha*, 19. Majrooh, 20. Gamman, 21. Haidar, 22. Abdul Sattar Shair, 23. Munni Lal Prem, 24. Ibarti, 25. Laiq, 26. Baqi, 27. Ahmed Kavi, 28. Hamad Shah, 29. Hidayatullah, 30. Kishan Singh Arif, 31. Meeran Shah, 32. Imam Din, 33. Amarnath Munsif Jallundhari, 34. Piran Ditta Taragar and 35. Muhammad Din Sokhta.
12. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p.117
13. Ibid., p.117.
14. Ibid., p.117.
15. Ibid., p.117.



Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

SAYYID ALI HAIDAR

Great and Poets of The Punjab

SAHYAD ALI HANDBAR

SAYYID ALI HAIDAR (1690—1785 A.D.)

Sayyid Ali Haidar was born at Mouza Chontra Qazian in Multan district in 1690 A.D. According to tradition, he spent most part of his long life of about 95 years in his place of birth and died in 1785 A.D.¹ He was a Gilani Sayyid and a scholar of Arabic and Persian. He had to his credit great Sufistic attainments. During the unsettled and troublous times of Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah Rangila, his mystic poetry helped in maintaining mental equilibrium of the people and brought much needed comfort and solace to the peasantry in and around Multan.

Ali Haidar, until the turn of the century, was unknown to the general public as a Sufi poet. His compositions of Punjabi verse, which are mostly in Multani, a sweet dialect of Punjabi, were some times sung by the *Ragis*, *Qawwaals* and wandering *faqirs* which did not draw any particular attention. The credit of discovering Ali Haidar, as a leading mystic poet of Punjabi, goes to Malik Fazal Din of Lahore who, on hearing some of the verses of this Sufi poet from *Qawwaals*, was so greatly enchanted and impressed that he collected all the available poetry of Ali Haidar from *Qawwaals*, wandering *faqirs* and other sources and had it published in the form of a book in or about 1898 A.D. for the benefit of the public. This collection was named *Mukammal Majmua Abyat Ali Haidar*² which contains *Siharfis*, *Qissa Hir wa Ranjha*, *Bara-Mah* and some *baits*. The style of his verses is highly ornamental and free-flowing; it abounds in grace and beauty and fecundity of vocabulary; and it excels in subtle poetic conceit. Some of his verses, in composition and substance, are so alike the verses of Bulleh Shah, it would appear as if both had studied in the same school.³ Bulleh Shah, in his pantheistic Sufism of the philosophical school, without doubt, was by far the greatest Punjabi Sufi poet.

It is clear from the poetry of Ali Haidar that, unlike other Punjabi Sufi poets, he played with the words; consequently, his thoughts some times are weak and very often the same idea is described differently. His description of physical love (*Ishq-i-Majazi*) is, in fact, his ideal for Love Divine (*Ishq-i-Haqiqi*)

and he juggles with words with admirable effect which, no doubt, lends a kind of brilliancy to his language but, at the same time, weakens the substance.

Ali Haidar was a confirmed Sufi, and a follower of Mohiuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of the Qadariya *silsila* (Order) of Sufis, who was born at Jilan in 1078 A.D. He says -

ک۔ کیا غم خوف اسان نوں جے شاہ محید دین اساردا اے
شاہ عبدالقادر جیلانی دا جے لطف آمین اساردا اے

काफ़ : क्या ग़म खौफ़ असानू जे शाह मुहईयोदीन असाड़दा ए
शाह अबदुल कादर जीलानी दा जे लुत्फ़ अमीन असाड़दा ए

Kaf : *Kya gham khauf asan nun je shah mohiuddin asadara ai*
Shah abdul qadir jilani da je lutf aamin asadara ai.

(**Kaf** : What sorrow and fear have we, if Shah Mohiuddin is ours, and if Shah Abdul Qadir of Jilan is the guardian of our pleasure ?)

Again he says -

علی حیدر کیا پرواہ کسے دی شاہ محید دین اساردا اے

अली हैदर क्या परवाह किसे दी जे शाह मुहईयोदीन असाड़दा ए

Ali Haidar kya parwah kisse di je Shah Mohiuddin asarda ai

(Ali Haidar, what do we care for anyone else so long as Shah Mohiuddin is ours ?)

HIS POETRY

His verses usually have a musical rhythm which is extremely pleasing to recite, such as -

ش۔ شراب دے مست رہیں، کی نین تینڈے متوالڑے نی
سُرخ سفید سیاہ دو بنا لڑے باج کجی ایویں کالڑے نی

शीन : शराब दे मस्त रहन की नैन तैंडे मतवालड़े नी
सुख सफ़ैद सिआह दो बनालड़े बाज कज्जल ऐवैं कालड़े नी !

Shin : *Sharab de mast raihan, ki nain tainde mattwalde ni,*
Surkh sufaid siah do banalade baj kajjal aiwen kalade ni.

(**Shin** : Like the heady intoxicating wine, your eyes are full of intoxication; they are a combination of red, white and black and, without *kajjal* (eye-liner), they are of beautiful black colour.)

In an other *Siharfi*, he has expressed how important it is to love some one but, at the same time, he has warned that your beloved should be a mature person. He says -

جی۔ بیتاں لگیاں اکھیاں رہن ناہیں
کے شہر محبوب دے ویسے جی
اوہ شہر کیہڑا جیتے عشق ناہیں
دنیا چھوڑ کتے دل نیسے جی
کچی نار دے نال نہ نہیوں لایے
کچی نار دے نال نہ ہیے جی
دل وچ کھوٹ رکھے مونہوں ہس بولے
کچے یار نون بھیت نہ دیسے جی

बे : बिनाँ लग्गीयाँ अखियाँ रहन नाहीं
किसे शहर महबूब दे वस्सीये जी
ओह शहर केहड़ा जिथे इश्क नाही
दुनिया छोड़ किते वल नस्सीये जी
कच्ची नार दे नाल ना नीहूँ लाईये
कच्ची नार दे नाल ना हस्सीये जी
दिल विच खोट रखे मुँहाँ हस बोले
कच्चे यार नू भेत ना दस्सीये जी !

Be *Binnan laggian akhian rehan nahin*
kisse shehar mehboob de wassiye ji.
O shahar kehda jiththe ishq nahin
duniya chhor kisse wal nassiye ji.
Kachi nar de nal na nihun laiye
kachi nar de nal na hassiye ji.
Dil wich khot rakkhke munhon hass bole
kache yar nun bhet na dassiye ji.

(Be : Without falling in love eyes cannot remain, in the city (heart) of some beloved we must live; which city (heart) is there which is devoid of love ? Leaving the world, I must run after some one. One must not fall in love nor one should laugh with an immature beloved, because in her heart she is deceptive and will laughingly speak and (therefore) the immature friend must not be revealed secret of the heart.)

The first part of this poem can also be interpreted allegorically for the Love Divine, but, because of Ali Haidar's playing with the words, in the latter part of the poem, the substance gets weakened.

In the following verses, Ali Haidar tells the condition of eyes, once they are struck by the love of the Beloved :

الف۔ اکھیں میریاں بَدَل ہو یاں
تے ہنجاواں دامینہ برس دیاں
کبھی رو دے دی جاٹ پتوئے
کدی نہ بیٹریاں ہنس دیاں
دت کا ہے نوں روزدیاں لال ہریاں
ہن جی دا بھیت نہ دس دیاں
علی حیدر توں پچھ اکھیاں نوں
ہن لا پریت کیوں نفس دیاں

अलफ़ : अखीं मेरीयाँ बदिल होइयाँ ते हन्जुआँ दा मींह बरस्स दीयाँ
केही रोवने दी चाट पड़यो ने कदी ना भैड़ीयाँ हस्स दीयाँ
वत काहे नू रोन्दियाँ लाल होईयाँ हुन जी दा भेद ना दस्स दीयाँ
अली हैदर तूँ पुछ अखियाँ नू हुन ला परीत क्याँ नहस्स दीयाँ !

*Alaf Akhkheen merian baddil hoian
te hunjuan da minh barass diyan,
Kehi rovanne di chat paiyo ne
kadi na bhaidiyan hass diyan;
Watt kaahe nun rondian lal hoian
hun ji da bhet na dass diyan,
Ali Haidar tun puchch akhkhian nun
hun la preet kiyon nass diyan.*

(Alaf : My eyes are disenchanted and rainful of tears fall from them; they are now so used to crying that they have forgotton to laugh. Then why have they become red crying when they do not even tell the condition of

my heart ? Ali Haidar, ask your eyes why are they now running away from the love of the beloved ?)

Ali Haidar expresses well his disgust of the worldly possessions which the mortals leave after death. According to him, all these are false, only the true possession is God, his Prophet and his friends. He says -

کُڑا گھورا کُڑا جوڑا کُڑا شاہ سوار
کُڑے ہاتھ کُڑے شکار کُڑے میر شکار
کُڑے ہاتھی کُڑے لشکر کُڑے فوج قطار
کُڑے سوہے کُڑے سالو کُڑے سوہنے یار
کُڑے جوڑے کُڑے بے کُڑے ہار شنگار
کُڑے کوٹھے کُڑے من میت کُڑے اے سنار
حیدر اکھے سب کُڑا سچا یک کرتار
دو جانبی محمد سچا اس دے یار

کُڑا غوڑا کُڑا جوڑا کُڑا شاہ سوار
کُڑے ہاتھ کُڑے شکار کُڑے میر شکار
کُڑے ہاتھی کُڑے لشکر کُڑے فوج قطار
کُڑے سوہے کُڑے سالو کُڑے سوہنے یار
کُڑے جوڑے کُڑے بے کُڑے ہار شنگار
کُڑے کوٹھے کُڑے من میت کُڑے اے سنار
حیدر اکھے سب کُڑا سچا یک کرتار
دو جانبی محمد سچا اس دے یار

*Kura ghora kura jora kura shah swar,
Kure bashe kure shikare kure mir shikar,
Kure hathi kure lashkar kure fauj qatar.
Kure suhe kure salu, kure sohne yar,
Kure jore kure bere kure har shangar,
Kure kotthe kure manmit kure eh sansar.
Haidar akkhe sab kujh kura sachcha hikk kartar,
Duja nabi muhammad sachcha sachche us de yar.*

(False is the horse, false is the costume and false is the horse-rider; false are the hawks, false the falcon and false is the leader of hunt; false the elephants, false the army, false the sword-wielding people; false the red (colour of women's dresses) false the veil (of women) and false are the beautiful friends; false the dresses, false the boats and false are the cosmetics; false the houses, false the winners of hearts and false is this world. Haidar says, all is false, Kartar (God) alone is true; the second true one is the Prophet Muhammad, and true are his friends.)

It seems that Ali Haidar composed the above verse after he had seen a royal hunting party which included, among others, ladies of the court.

Ali Haidar had complete faith in the Almighty which he has expressed, convincingly, in the following verse -

آلفے۔ ایتھے او تھے آسان آس تینڈی اتے آسرا تینڈے زور دا آئی
 مہیں سب حارٹے تینڈے مین نہ خوف نہ گندڑے چور دا آئی
 توں ہی جان سوال جواب سمجھو سانوں ہول نہ اوکھری گور دا آئی
 علی حیدر نوں سیک تینڈری اے تینڈے باجھ نہ سائل ہور دا آئی

अलफ : ऐथे ओथे असाँ आस तैन्दड़ी अते आसरा तैन्दड़े ज़ोर दा ई
 महीं सब हालड़े तैन्दड़े ने ना खौफ़ ना गुण्टड़े चोर दा ई
 तूँ ही जान सवाल जावाब सभी साँनूँ हौल ना औखड़ी गोर दा ई
 अली हैदर नू सिक्क तैन्दड़ी ए तैन्दे बाझ ना सायल होर दा ई

*Alif : Aithe otthe asan aas taindi ate aasara taindare zor dae,
 Mahin sabh havalare taindare ne asan khauf na gundare chor dae,
 Tuhi jaan sawal jawab sabhon sanun haul na aukhri gor dae,
 Ali Haidar nun sikk taindari ai tainde bajh na saayal hor dae.*

(**Alif** : Here and there you are my hope and your strength is my support; all buffaloes (the yearning souls) are under your charge, we are not afraid of the thief; you are the knower of all questions and answers and we are not afraid of the grave; Ali Haidar seeks you (God) alone and he does not seek another.)

Ali Haidar composed his verses in Multani, a sweet dialect of Punjabi, and made it sweeter to hear by the jugglery of words in which he was quite adept. He says -

خ۔ خلق خدا دی علم پڑھدی سانوں اک مطالعہ یار دا اے
جنہیں کھول کے عشق کتاب پڑھئی سیگے صرف مے سب سار دا اے
جنہیں یار دے نام دا سبق پڑھیا ایتھے جائے نہ صبر قرار دا اے
حیدر ملانوں فکر نماز دا اے ایناں عاشقان طلب دیدار دا اے

खे : खलक खुदा दी इलम पढ़दी सानू इक्क मुतालिया यार दा ए
जिन्हे खोल के इश्क किताब डिठ्ठी सीगे सरफ़ दे सब विसार दा ए
जिन्हे यार दे नाम दा सबक पढ़िया ऐथे जाए ना सबर करार दा ए
हैदर मुल्ला नू फ़िकर नमाज़ दा ए एहना आशकाँ तलब दीदार दा ए

Khe : *Khalaq khuda di ilam parhdi sanu ikk mutalia yar da ai,
Jinhe khol ke ishq kitab ditthi sige saraf de sabh wisar da ai,
Jinhe yar de nam da sabaq parhya etthe jaye na sabar karar da ai,
Haidar mullan nun fikar namaz da ai ehna aashqaan talab didar da ai.*

(**Khe :** The people of God study knowledge, we (Sufis) study only of the friend Beloved; whoever has opened and looked into the book of Love (Divine), is prepared to spend his all; whoever has read the lesson of the name of the friend (God) (such as priests) should not come here, because here is peace and contentment; Haidar says, the priest has to worry about the prayers, but these lovers (Sufis) desire the sight of the Beloved.)

In the above verse, Ali Haidar has drawn a distinction between the true seekers of truth and those, like *Mullahs* (the priests), who only superficially profess to do so.

In the following poem, Ali Haidar has stressed that it is only by the grace and blessings of God that one can achieve union with the Divine Beloved. He says -

ع۔ عنایت ربّی ہوئے تے اینویں فضل کرنیہا چا
تخت ہزارے توں رانجھن سدکے ہر سیال ملیندا چا
عشق اساوئے دے چھڑن کارن مجھیں دے نال چھڑنیا چا
واہ داکم اللہ دے حیدر آپے جوڑ جوڑ سیندا چا

ऐन : इनायत रब्बे दी होवे ते ऐवँ फ़ज़ल करेन्दा चा
तख़्त हज़ारे तौँ रॉज़न सद के हीर सयाल मिलेन्दा चा
इश्क असाडे दे छेड़न कारन मझीँ दे नाल छड़ेन्दा चा
वाह वा कम अल्ला दे हैदर आपे जोड़ जोड़ेन्दा चा

*Ain : Inayat rabbe di hove te ainven fazal karenda cha
Takht hazare ton ranjhan sadd ke hir sayal malenda cha
Ishq asade de chheran karan majhin de nal chhadenda cha
Wah wa kamm allah de haidar ape jod jorenda cha.*

(*Ain* : If God willed He could give His blessings : from Takht Hazara, He could send for Ranjha and unite him with Hir Sayal; because of our love (Divine), He could love all buffaloes (the yearning souls); wonders are wrought by Allah, O Haidar, He could bring about union (if so willed).)

Ali Haidar was against the hegemony of foreigners, particularly Persians, and reproaches his King, courtiers of Imperial court and countrymen for allowing foreigners to dominate and submitting to their lust for riches. The following verse was composed by him, perhaps, at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion of India in 1739 A.D.

بے - بھی ذہر نہیں جو کھامرن کچھ شرم نہ ہندوستانیوں
کیا حیا ایہناں راجیاں نوں کچھ لج نہیں تورانیاں نوں
بھڑے بھر دھڑلے خزانے فارسیاں خراسانیاں نوں
وچ چھوٹیاں دے وچ پانی تک بڑھو جے ہونا ویدیاں پانی نوں

बे : भी ज़हर नहीं जो खा मरन कुझ शरम ना हिन्दुसतानीयाँ नू
क्या होया ऐहना राजियाँ नू कुझ लज नहीं तूरानीयाँ नू
भैड़े भर भर देवन खाज़ाने फ़ारसीयाँ ख़ुरासानीयाँ नू
विच छौनीयाँ दे विच पानी तक भड़ोजे लहू ना वेदियाँ पानीआँ नू

*Be : Bhi zaihar nahin jo kha maran kujh sharam na hindustanian nun,
Kya hoye ehna rajian nun kujh lajj nahin turanian nun,
Bhaire bhar bhar devann khazane farsian khurasanian nun,
Wich chhawaian de wich pani takk badhoje lahu na wedean pania nun.*

(*Be* : There is no poison by eating which they should die, the Indians have no shame. What shame have

these kings and what shame have these Turanis (foreigners) ? The wretches have filled up and given treasures to the Persians and the Khurasanians. In the cantonments they (the Persian) have reserved water for themselves and only water we (the Indians) see is blood.)

Ali Haidar was a lyricist and a good musician. Each line of his verse is full of rhythm and is beautifully composed which prompts the reader to sing rather than recite it. It was for this reason that he is often compared with Persian poet Hafiz of Shiraz. Because of lyrical style his verses are sung by the *Ragis*, *Qawwaals* and wandering minstrels. In the following verse, he reproaches *Mullahs* for not understanding the true love of a Sufi :

بے۔ بادی تیغ نہ دس مُلا اودہ الف سدھا خم گھا ت آیا
اوہا یار کلوکڑی رات والا ہن بھیس وٹا کے وٹ آیا
سوہنا میم دی چادر پہن کے جی کہہ زلفاں دے گھونگھٹ گھا ت آیا
علی حیدر اوہا یار پیارا ہن احمد بن کے وٹ آیا

بے: بے دی تےگ نا دس मुल्ला ओह अलफ़ सिधा खम घात आया
ओहा यार कलोकड़ी रात वाला हुन भेस वटा के वत आया
सोहना मीम दी चादर पहन के जी ज़ुलफ़ाँ दे घूँघट घत आया
अली हैदर ओहा यार प्यारा हुन अहमद बन के वत आया

Be : *Be di tegh na dass mulla eh alif sidha kham ghat aya,
Oha yar kalokari raat wala hun bhes wata ke watt aya,
Sohna mim di chadar pehan ke ji keha zulfan de ghunghat ghat aya,
Ali Haidar oha yar piara hun ahmad ban ke watt aya.*

(**Be :** O priest, do not show me the curved sword of *be* (*be*, 2nd letter of the Persian alphabet was not liked by the Sufis who always preferred *alif*, the first letter, which stood to them for God) because this is the straight *alif* that has come back bent; the handsome friend of last night changing his garb has come back; the handsome friend wearing the garb of *mim* (*mim* signifies Muhammad to the Sufis) and hidden in his long-grown locks has returned. Ali Haidar Says, the same dear friend has now come back as Ahmad (name of Prophet Muhammad).)

As a Sufi, how intensely Ali Haidar was in love with his beloved (God) has been stated in the following poem -

لوک نصیحتاں دے تھکے سوہنے یار توں مگھ نہ موڑساں میں
 توڑے موڑے پیوڑے کدھ تھوڑن جانی یار کچھ گھر چھوڑساں میں
 میں تے پیلے وساں ہر دم ماہی والے متی دیندیاں نوں کھوئے بوڑساں میں
 علی حیدر نے اکھیاں لائیاں کتے قول نوں مول نہ توڑساں میں

لام: लोक नसीहतों दे थके सोहने यार तौ मुख ना मोड़साँ मैं
 तोरे मोड़े प्योड़े कड छोड़न जानी यार पिछे घर छोड़साँ मैं
 मैं ते बेले वसाँ हर दम माही वाले मत्ती देन्देयाँ नू खूए बोड़साँ मैं
 अली हैदर ने अखीयाँ लाईआँ किते कौल नू मूल ना तोड़साँ मैं

Lam : Lok nasihataan de thakke sohne yar ton mukkh na morsan main,
 Tore maure peure kadd chhoran, jani yar pichhe ghar chhorsan main.
 Main tan bele wassan hardam mahi wale matti dendeen nun khuhe
 borsan main,
 Ali Haidar ne akkhian laian kite kaul nun mool na torsan main.

(Lam : The people are tired of giving me good advices, but I will not turn my face from the handsome friend (God); even if mother and father throw me out, I will leave the house for the sake of my friend (God). I will live in the jungle (open country) of my beloved, and will throw all of them in the well who give me advices otherwise. Ali Haidar says, our eyes have met (love has been declared) and I will never break my word.)

Ali Haidar has explained, beautifully, in the following couplets, how he proceeded on his pilgrimage from *Shariat* (the Islamic code) into *Tariqat* (the mystic path) to reach *Haqiqat* (gnosis or *fana*) :

کافر ہویاں سوہنے یار کچھ ملاں دھکیں نماز پڑھاؤندے نی
 دین مذہب نہیں کوئی عاشقاں راسخ توڑ جنجو گل پاؤندے نی

काफिर होयाँ सोहने यार पिछे मुल्लाँ धक्कीं नमाज़ पढ़ाؤन्दे नी
 दीन मज़हब नहीं कोई आशकाँ दा तसबीह तोड़ जंजू गल पाओन्दे नी

*Kafir hoyan sohne yar pichhe, mulla dhakeen namaz padhaonde ni,
 Deen mazhab nahin koi aashqaan da, tasbih tor janju gall paunde ni.*

(I have become a heathen after my handsome friend (God). Priests compel, forcefully, to read prayers; for lovers (of God) there is no faith or religion, they break the rosary and put the thread round their neck.)

Again he says -

ہوش ز چھڑی عشق تیرے اتے اِس دج بہت دِگیریاں نی
جِنہاں عشق دی چوڑی رنگ لئی اُنہاں چٹیاں چادران چیریاں نی

होश ना छड़ी इश्क तेरे अते इस विच बहुत दिलगीरियाँ नी
जिन्हा इश्क दी चोलड़ी रँग लेई ओहनाँ चिट्टियाँ चादराँ चीरियाँ नी !

*Hosh na chhaddi ishq tere atte is wich bahut dilgirian ni
Jinhan ishq di choladi rang lai ohnan chittian chadaraan chirian ni.*

(My love for the Beloved did not lose sense, there are in it many heartening things. Those who have dyed their garb in the colour of love (Divine) have torn white sheets into shreds.)

Ali Haidar was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. He has made a profuse use of Persian and Arabic vocabulary in his verses in Punjabi. In his *Siharfis*, he has shown, time and again, that the Sufi loves to suffer on the Sufistic path. The more the flames of love burn in his heart the more he bursts into rapture and ecstasy and dances with joy. The Sufi, in real life, nourishes agony and tears of love while seeking union with the Divine Beloved.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Shamin Choudhury, *Punjabi Adab-o-Tawarikh*, p. 76.
2. L. Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 92
3. Maula Baksh Kushta, *Punjabi Shairan da Tazkira*, p. 91. Baba Budh Singh in *Hans Chog* (p. 181) compares Ali Haidar for his lyrical style with Hafiz of Shiraz.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

FARD FAQIR

Great Soul Poets of The Punjab

FAHD FAHIN

FARD FAQIR (C 1720—1770 A.D.)

Fard Faqir is generally known as Khawaja Fard Faqir. He was born in 1116 AH¹ (1720 A.D.) in Gujrat, an ancient township on the banks of the river Chenab. Very little is known about his life and whatever we know is from his diverse compositions. It would appear that he was a kind soul and a good Sufi who was well accomplished in the languages of Arabic and Persian and *fiqh* (religious knowledge and juristic literature), *hadith* (traditions) and used to teach and counsel the people.² Mian Muhammad Sahib of Jhelum, in his composition of *Saif-al-Muluk*, writes about Fard Faqir, as follows -

فرد فقیر ہوا کوئی خاصہ مرد صفائی والا !
فرد اندر بھی چُست سخن ہے عشق اندر خوشحالا !

फ़रद फ़कीर होया कोई खासा मरद सफ़ाई वाला !

फ़िक अन्दर भी चुस्त सुखन है इश्क अन्दर खुशहाला !

Fard Faqir hoya koi khasa mard safai wala !
Fiqh under bhi chust sukhan hai ishq under khushhala !³

(Fard Faqir was a special man of cleanliness (holiness) who was a clever exponent of *fiqh* (religious knowledge) and was (also) great in the art of love (Divine).

He was an acknowledged Sufi and reproached those who were not true to their profession of Sufism, in the following words -

باہر بنا صوفیا اندر دغا کماے

बाहर बना सूफ़ीया अन्दर दगा कमाए

Bahar bana sufia under dagha kamaye.⁴

(Outside the guise of a Sufi and inside they practice deceit.)

He was highly critical of those *Faqirs* (mendicants) who pretended to profess Sufism.

Again he says -

م۔ میموں مل وکونڈی اج فقیر می ہٹ
اک پیسے دی اُن لئی گل نوں سلی وٹ
گہری رنگ لے کپڑے کھول سرے دے وال
فردا لیکھا لیسیا رب قادر جل جلال

मीम मीमाँ मुल विकौंदी अज फ़कीरी हट्ट
इक पैसे दी उन लई गल नू सेली वट्ट
गेरी रँग लै कपड़े खोल सिरे दे वाल
फ़रदा लेखा लैसिया रब्ब कादर जुल जलाल !

Mim Mimo mull wakaundi ajj faqiri hutt,
Ikk paise di unn lai gull nun seli watt;
Geri rang lai kapade khol sire de waal,
Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jul jalal.

(**Mim** : The sainthood (*faqir*) is sold in the shop today; buying a piece of wool (thread) for a pice and the twisted woollen yarn (*seli*)⁵ is put round the neck; with brickcolour (*geri*) clothes are dyed and hair is let loose (by the so called Sufis). Fard ! the mighty, radiant, glorious God will take account (of the so-called holy men).

His title *Faqir*⁶ also shows that he was a mendicant (*Darvesh*). From his writings, we also gather that he was a *Pir* of the lower strata of society such as weavers, potters and barbers.

The times during which Fard Faqir lived were not very conducive for the development of art and the Muses. The Punjab was passing through a period of great turbulence. Aurangazeb had died in 1707 A.D. and from 1739 A.D. to 1770 A.D., the Punjab did not experience any peace at all. The invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 A.D., followed by successive raids of Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani), the first of which began in 1748 A.D., all contributed to create trouble, unsettled conditions and confusion. This confusion provided opportunity for the suppressed Sikhs to assert themselves by devastating the

country and thereby creating further trouble for the rulers. No doubt, the Marathas, who entered the arena for a short while, retired after their defeat in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D., but, from then onwards, there was a constant conflict raging between the nominees of Afghans and the rising Sikhs. It was in 1770 A.D., that the Sikhs finally deposed and repulsed the Afghan officials and occupied the Punjab. However, it took them many more years to establish a strong Government in the dominions that had been a prey to the ambitions of different claimants. Under these turbulent conditions, poetry could not flourish, nor could exist amicable feelings in the different communities living there and tolerance between members of them was at its lowest ebb. In these difficult times, the Sufis tried to maintain equilibrium of their followers by treading a middle path whereby neither they were hostile to the orthodox *Ulema* nor were they against the fury of those in power for the time being. In the process, the Sufis, in practicing their popular Sufism, tried to please and respect the beliefs of people belonging to different religions and were responsible for bringing about a semblance of communal harmony in the communities. Fard Faqir was a popular Sufi and a *Pir* of the masses and, among others, played a significant role in maintaining mental equilibrium of the masses in the troublous times in Gujrat and its neighbourhood.

HIS WORKS

Fard Faqir is credited to have written *Roshan-dil*, *Kasab Namah-i-Bafindgan* (weavers), *Kasab Namah-i-Hajjama* (barbers), *Bara-Mah* and *Siharfi*,⁷ among others. In the *Kasab Namahs*, he has explained with all sincerity that no profession is low, labour of any kind should be respected. In *Siharfi*, spiritualism and hidden advices is the ideal pursued by him and how one can improve himself in spiritual pursuits. In *Bara-Mah* he has lamented about the separation (*hijr*) of soul from the Divine Beloved and ultimately the union with Him which he has expressed in the first person towards one Mehtab, as the Sufis were wont to express *Ishq-i-Haqiqi* in the veil of *Ishq-i-Majazi*.

In *Kasab Namah-i-Bafindgan*, he describes weaving on spiritual lines, praises the vocation of weavers and emphatically condemns the ruling classes who tyrannized them. It became very popular not only with the weavers but also other artisans and workmen and many editions of it were published.

It is believed that he had composed *Kasab Namah-i-Bafindgan* and *Kasab Namah-i-Hajjama* on the request of his two disciples.⁸ He writes :

شاگرداں تھیں مجلس اندر دو دسوندھی کہندے
 کسب نامے دیاں تصنیفاں نوں کردی کدائی کہندے
 اک مُلّاں دسوندھی نوری علماواں دا خادِم
 فقراواں دی خدمت کردا نیک خدا دا آدم
 اک دسوندھی حجام اسادا خدمت گار قدیمی
 کتنی مدت خدمت اندر کیتی اوس ندیمی
 دونوں طالب علم ہمیشہ اک بانی اک صافی
 جیہڑا پیر مرنے آکے یا دونوں کا فی !

शागिर्दा दी मजलिस अन्दर दो दसाँधी कहन्दे
 कसब नामा दिआँ तसनीपूँ नू कदी कदाई कहन्दे !
 इक मुल्ला दसाँदी नूरी इलमावाँ दा खादम
 फुकरावाँ दी खिदमत करदा नेक खुदा दा आदम !
 इक दसाँदी हज्जाम असाडा खिदमतगार कदीमी
 कितनी मुद्दत खिदमत अन्दर कीती ओस नदीमी !
 दोवै तालब इलम हमेशा इक बानी इक साफ़ी
 जेहड़ा पीर मुरब्बी मन्ने इक या दोवै काफ़ी !!

*Shagirdan dee majlis under do dasaundi kehnde,
 Kasab namah diyan tasnifan nun kadi kadain kehnde;
 Ikk Mulla dasaundhi noori ilmawan da khadim,
 Fuqra'wan di khidmat karda nek khuda da adam;
 Ikk dasaundhi hajjam asada khidmatgaar qadimi,
 Kitni muddat khidmat under kiti os nadimi;
 Downen talib ilam hamesha ikk bani ikk safi,
 Jehra pir murrabi manne ikk ya downen kafi.*

(In the assembly of my disciples, two of them say and sometimes refer to the writing of *Kasab Namahs*. One disciple is *Mullah* who is servant of (seeker of) illuminating knowledge; (he) serves the mendicants (*faqirs*) and is a kind man of God. The other disciple of mine is a barber (by profession) and has been serving me from olden times and (indeed) a great service he has rendered to me. Both of them are always seekers of knowledge (Divine); and very humbly acknowledge me as their *Pir*.)

Since he wrote these *Kasab Namahs* on the request of his disciples, he says in this connection -

کاسبیاں داکسب نامہ میں اُس دے کہے بنایا
 پنج دہاڑے بیکاری وچ بہر کے مغز کھپایا
 فیر حجاماں داکسب نامہ دو جے خاطر کیہا
 چار دہاڑے درد سرے دا گوشے بہر کے سیہا
 شاگرداں دی خاطر دو نویں قسے اساں اٹھائے
 مت کوئی کچھ فاتحہ آکھے اچھی وجہ بنائے

کاسبیوں دا کسب ناما میں اُس دے کہے بنایا
 پانچ دہاڑے بیکاری وچ بہر کے مغز کھپایا !
 فیر حجاماں دا کسب ناما دو جے خاطر کیہا
 چار دہاڑے درد سرے دا گوشے بہر کے سیہا !
 شاگردوں دی خاطر دو نویں قسے اسیں اٹھائے
 مت کوئی پوچھے، فاتیہا آکھے، اچھی وجہ بناوے !!

*Kasabbian da kasab namah main us de kahe banaya,
 Panj dhiare bekari wich beh ke magaz khapaya.
 Fer hajjama da kasab namah duje khatir keha,
 Char dhiare dard sire da gosha beh ke seha;
 Shagirdaan di khatar downen qisse assan utthaye,
 Mutt koi puchche, fateha akhe, achchi waja banaye.*

(I have composed weaver's *Kasab Namah* on the request of that (*Dasaudi Julaha*) disciple; for five days without doing anything, I sat and troubled my brain (and composed it). Thereafter, *Kasab Namah-i-Hajjama*, I have composed on the request of the other. For four days, with ache in my head, I sat in a corner and suffered it (composed it). For the sake of my disciples, I have written both these *qissas*; don't ask why, these are (in fact) prayers and have been done well.)

Roshan Dil can be considered as a manual of instructions on dogmatic religious duties. The work is popular with the orthodox. It falls short of spiritual attainments of Sufis and highly critical of non-Muslims (*Kafirs*) generally; therefore, one is inclined to believe that Fard Faqir had to compose this either

because of prevailing political conditions or, perhaps, to keep the powerful *Ulema* in good humour. In one place in *Roshan Dil*, he says -

میں ڈر دا گل نہ آکھدا مت مارن علماء
ایسے کارن رکھیا فردا بھید چھپا!

مैं डरदा गल ना आखदा मत मारन उलमा
एसे कारन रक्खिया फ़रदा भेत छुपा !

Main darda gall na akhda, mat maran ulma
Ehse karan rakhia farda bhet chhupa.

(Out of fear I do not say the real matter (tell the truth),
lest the *Ulema* confuse me; for this reason, Fard says,
I have kept the secret hidden.)

Roshan Dil is a great favourite of the *Ulema* and the secret alluded to in the above verse must be the Sufistic thought of tolerance and freedom, in which he had firm belief, which must have been considered heresy, and, to keep the *Ulema* in good humour, that is why, he says, he kept the secret hidden.

About matters relating to *Fiqh* (juristic knowledge), Fard Faqir says -

معنی بسم اللہ دے سن توں کراں بیان
تاں اے فرائض ہندے مولا کرے آسان
فرد فقیرا سرے تے چائیو ای وڈا بھار
ایہہ اوکھے مسئلے فقہ دے سنبھل کریں شمار

माने बिसमिल्लाह दे सुन तूँ करौँ बयान
ताँ ए फ़राइज़ होन्दे मौला करे आसान !
फ़रद फ़कीरा सिरे ते चाईयो ई वड्डा भार
एह औखे मसअल्ले फ़िक दे संभल करीं शुमार !!

Ma'ne bismillah de, sun tun, karan bian,
Tan eh faraiz hunde, maula kare aasan;
Fard faqira sire te chaiyo ee wadda bhar,
Eh aukhe mas'alle fiqh de, sambhal karin shumar.

(The meaning of Bismillah, listen to me, which I describe.
Only then can I perform my duties when God makes it
easier (for me). Oh Fard Faqir : You are carrying a
heavy load on your head (by trying to explain the

meaning) and, to describe such difficult topics of *fiqh* (religious and juristic knowledge), be very careful.)

In another place, Fard says -

لکھی قلم نہ موڑیئے پھیرے کون قضاء
جو کچھ چاہے سو کرے جیہڑی رب رضاء

लिखी कलम ना मोड़िये फेरे कौन कज़ा
जो कुछ चाहे सो करे जेहड़ी रब्ब रज़ा !

Likhi qalam na moriye, phere kaun qaza
Jo kuchh chahe so kare jehdi rabb raza.

(Whatever is written (pre-destined) cannot be reversed;
who can return (messenger of) death ? Whatever He
wishes, He does; so strong is the Will of God.)

HIS POETRY

It seems Fard Faqir had a good knowledge of Arabic and Persian. In his *Kasab Namah-i-Bafindgan*, he says :

نثر فارسی نون چھڑ کے اساں ہندی نظم بنایا !

नसर फ़ारसी नू छड के आसाँ ने हिन्दी नज़म बनाया !

Nasar farsi nu chhad ke
*assan ne hindi nazam banaya.*⁹

(Abandoning Persian prose, we have made it in Hindi
poetry.)

In those days, writers of the Punjab, especially Muslims, called Punjabi, Hindi or Hindwi which meant the language of Hindustan. It was much later that the language of the Punjab came to be termed as Punjabi.

Fard Faqir's Punjabi verse is straight-forward, rustic in expression and lacks in finesse as, perhaps, his following was also rustic and straight-forward and, to make them understand his thought, he spoke in the language easily comprehensible to them. A discerning reader will also observe that the flow of his verse is not as smooth as it should have been, at times, it is rather abrupt; but the thought is extremely powerful and emphatic.

In his entire *Siharfi*, the last *tukk* of his *bait* ends with "*Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jul jala*", which means - "the mighty radiant glorious God will take account" and "*Farda*", which is his *nom-de-piume*, and which also means "tomorrow", with poetic justice, can be translated and understood as "the day of judgement", blends exceedingly well with the *tukk* and lends extra charm and grace to his *bait*s. His compositions are profusely embellished with Arabic and Persian words and idioms which have been synthesised well in his verses.

His *Kasab Namah-i-Bafindgan*, which is a treatise on weavers, was completed in 1751 A.D. This he had written on the request of his *Julaha* (weaver) disciple in whose praise he says -

آئے گئے مسافراں دی اُہ خدمت بہتی کردا
علماء داں دے نال محبت فقر اُں دا بردا

आए गए मुसाफ़िर दी ओह खिदमत बहुती करदा
इलमावाँ दे नाल मुहब्बत फ़करावाँ दा बरदा !

Aaye gaye musafir di oh khidmat bahuti karda
Ilmawaan de nal muhabat faqrawaan da barda.

(The strangers who come and go, he serves them well.
He loves the learned and pleases the mendicants.)

Fard was against the false *Pirs* who would deceive the innocent people and was also highly critical of the rulers who ill-treated the workmen and artisans and exacted forced labour whenever it pleased them caring little for the crafts and industry; consequently, the poor artisans suffered. He says -

حاکم ہر کے بہن علیچہ بہتا ظلم کماندے
مختیاں نوں کئی آکھن خون اونہاں دا کماندے
بھڑوکاری لے لے جاوَن خوف خدا دانا ہیں
فرد فقیر درد منداں دیاں اک بُن پوسن آہیں
کاسبیاں نوں مہر مقدم جبرن چٹا پاندے
بھار غریباں دا سر لے آپے دوزخ جاندے

हाकम हो के बहन गलीचे बहुता जुलम कमान्दे
मेहनतीआँ तू कम्मी आखन खून ओन्हों दा खान्दे

फड़ वगारी लै लै जावन खौफ़ खुदा दा नार्ही
 फ़रद फ़कीरा दर्द मन्दौं दीयाँ इक दिन पौसन आर्ही
 कासबीआँ नू महर मुक्कदम जबरन चट्टी पान्दे
 भार गरीबाँ दा सिर लै के आपे दोज़ख जान्दे !

*Hakim ho ke behan galiche bahuta zullam kamaunde
 Mehnatian nun kammi aakkhan khoon unhan da khande;
 Phar wagari lai lai jawan khauf khuda da nahin,
 Fard faqira dard mandaan dian ikk din pausan aahin;
 Kasabian nun mehar maqaddam jabran chatti pande,
 Bhaar ghariban da sir lai ke ape dozakh jande.*

(By being rulers they sit on carpets and practice tyranny;
 workmen they call menials and drink their blood. As
 indentured labour (without wages) they compel them to
 work not fearing God; Fard Faqir, one day the sufferer's
 sighs will fall on them. The workmen have (also) to
 suffer on account of the officials and the taxmen.
 Carrying the burden of the poor on their heads (and
 their curses), the rulers themselves go to hell.)

In the *Kasab Nama*, he writes :

جاں اہ شرمندن میں بیٹھا کھڑی جا بنائی
 دو نویں پیر فکر وچ بچا تھے دل نے اونہی پائی
 گنڈھ گنڈھ دھاگے عقل فکر دے خاصہ شعر بنایا
 لائی پان برابر اس نون تیل نہ بتیا لایا
 سوتر اٹھسی ستی دے وچ چونس نہ وگائی
 بہت کارگیر دیکھن آئے جاں میں تانی لائی

जाँ एह शेर धुनन मैं बैठा खड़ी चा बनाई
 दोवै पैर फ़िकर विच फाथे दिल ने उन्ही पाई !
 गढें गढें धागे अकल फ़िकर दे खासा शेर बनाया
 लाई पान बराबर उस नू तेल ना बहुता लाया !
 सूतर उठसी सती दे विच चौन्सी ना वगाई
 बहुत कारीगर देखन आए जाँ मैं तानी लाई !!

*Jan eh she'r dhunan main baitha khaddi ja banai,
Doven pair fikar wich phaththe dil ne oondhi pai.
Gandh gandh dhage aqqal fikar de khasa she'r banaya,
Lai pan brabar us nun tel na bahuta laya,
Sootar utthsi satti de wich chaunsi na wagai,
Bahut karigar dekhan aye jan main tani lai.*

(When I sat down to compose this verse, I prepared the handloom, I put both my feet to thought (in the loom) and my heart in working it. By putting knots of wisdom and imagination, I spun the yarn and I completed the verse. I adequately oiled the loom. (Now) The yarn will be raised on the spindle without any wastage. When I put on the weft (started weaving or began my verse) many artisans came to witness it.)

In this verse, Fard Faqir has used the similes and metaphors related to the weaving industry to adequately explain that how by preparing the handloom for weaving, he was, in fact, trying to concentrate on the Love Divine. *Kasab Namah* is full of such allegorical interpretation of his Sufistic ideas where, to make it easily understandable, he has freely used the expressions and metaphors connected with the weaving industry which were in common usage.

In another place, he writes :

تانا علم عمل راہیا۔ دونوں حلین برابر
تاں راہ جامہ محکم ہووے دھانگے کدی نہ ہین

ताना इलम, अमल दा पेटा, दोवें चलन बराबर
ताँ एह जामा मोहकम होवे धागे कदी ना हिल्लन !

*Tana ilam, amal da peta, downen challan brabar,
Tan eh jama mohkam howe dhage kadi na hillan.*

(Warp of knowledge (*ilam*) and weft of practice (*amal*) both must go together; it is only then that cloth is properly strongly woven (and) threads don't run loose.)

Again he says -

فرد فقیر انصاف ہو کے راہ رسالہ جوڑیں !
تانا پٹا کھول دکھائیں کوئی اتند نہ توڑیں !

फ़रद फ़कीरा मुन्साफ़ होके एह रसाला जोड़ीं
ताना पेटा खोल दिखाई कोई तदँ ना तोड़ीं

*Fard faqira munsif ho ke eh rasala joreen !
Tana peta khol dikhain koi tand na toreen.*

(Fard Faqir ! be the judge and explain the process of union with (the Lord). Show us by opening the warp and weft (of this mystery), without breaking any thread (in its entirety).

If interpreted allegorically, it would mean that explain to us and show us the true path of reaching the Lord.

SIHARFIS

Fard Faqir has given hidden advices in his *Siharfis*, as for example :

س - سنائیں خلقِ نون کر کے راز
لوکا دین نصیحتاں اندر تیرے جور
کیہ ہو یا جے لہ یا گدھا کتاباں نال !
فردا لیکھا یسار رب قادر جل جلال !

सीन : सुनाई खलक नू कर कर मस्सअले रोज़
लोकाँ दई नसीहताँ अन्दर तेरे चोर !
क्या होया जे लहया गधा किताबाँ नाल !
फ़रदा लेखा लैसिया रब कादर जुल जलाल !!

Sin : *Sunaeen khalaq nun kar kar mass'ale roz,
Lokan dein nasihataan under tere chor.
Kiah hoye je laddia gadha kitaban nal ;
Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jul jalal.*

(**Sin :** You preach to the public, solving problems after problems each day, (you) give advices to others but inside you is the thief (mischief ingrained). What is the use if the ass is loaded with books (the so-called learned) ? Fard ! the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account).

Like all other Sufis, Fard Faqir is highly critical of the so-called learned people, like the *Mullahs* and *Sheikhs*, and says -

کے۔ کلامِ خدا کے دی ملاں پڑھن فقیر
بولن جھوٹے کھان حرام کیا ہووے تاثیر
نام دھراون شیخ جی ترون آولی چال
فردا لیکھا لیسیا رب قادر جل جلال

काफ : कलाम खुदाए दी मुल्लाँ पढ़न फ़कीर !
बोलन झूठ ते खान हराम क्या होवे तासीर !
नाम धरावन शैख जी तुरन अवली चाल !
फ़रदा लेखा लैसिया रब कादर जुल जलाल !!

Kaf : *Kalaam khudaye di mullah padhan faqir,
Bolann jhuth te khaan haraam kea hovey taasir ;
Nam dharawan sheikhji turan awwali chaal,
Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jul jalal.*

(**Kaf :** *Mullahs and faqirs read the word of God (Quran),
(otherwise) they tell lies and eat taboo food, how can it
have any effect ? They want to be named Sheikhji and
walk with false pride; Fard ! the mighty, radiant and
glorious God will take account.*)

Inspite of his orthodox beliefs, Fard could not help believing in *Karmas* (actions) and he often advised his followers to do good actions. He says -

غ۔ غرور نہ کرو۔ رو رو ڈھائیں مار
باجوں عملاں چنگیاں کون نگھا سی پار
چھڈ دنیا دے وعدے قول خدا دا بھال
فردا لیکھا لیسیا رب قادر جل جلال

गैन : गरुरत ना करो रो रो ढाईं मार
बाजौं अमलौं चन्यौं कौन लघाँसी पार !
छड दुनीआ दे वादे कौल खुदा दा भाल
फ़रदा लेखा लौसिया रब कादर जुल जलाल !!

Ghain : *Gharurat na karo, ro ro dhain maar,
Bajhon amlaan changean, kaun langhasi paar;
Chhad duniya de wahde, qaul khuda da bhaal,
Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jul jalal.*

(**Ghain** : Do not feel proud, but cry loudly (for not doing the right thing) instead; without good actions who will take you across ? Forget the promises and advices of the world, only understand the word of God. Fard ! the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.)

In the following *Siharfi*, Fard Faqir shows his anxiety to keep hidden his knowledge of Sufism -

ذ - ذکر خدائے دا نہ کر ظاہر خلق دکھائے
اندر کرتوں بندگی باہر پردہ پائے
مول نہ دیکھیں علم نون نہ کر کیسے سوال
فردا لیکھا لایسا رب قادر جل جلال

جال : جیکر खुदाए दा ना कर जाहर खलक दिखाए
अन्दर कर तूँ बन्दगी बाहर परदा पाए !
मूल ना वेचीँ इलम नू ना कर किसे सवाल
फ़रदा लेखा लैसीया रब कादर जुल जलाल !!

Zal : *Zikar khudaey da na kar zahir khalaq dikhaey,*
Under kar tun bundgi bahar parda paey;
Mul na wechin ilam nun, na kar kisse sawal,
Farda lekha laisia rabb qadar jul jalal.

(**Zal** : Discuss not God openly in public; inside (within your heart) pay obeisance and pray to God and outside remain under veil. In no circumstances, you should sell your knowledge of the Divine, nor should you question any one. Fard ! the mighty, radiant and glorious God will take account.)

It is quite evident that such pious ideas are quite in consonance with his Sufistic ideals while remaining within the injunctions of orthodoxy.

It is believed that he composed *BARA-MAH* either on the request of, or because of separation from, his friend by the name of Mehtab. Each month of *Bara-mah* has four stanzas and each stanza consists of three couplets. His *Bara-mah* is full of pain and sorrow inflicted by separation. A specimen is given here -

کوئی آکے جا مہتاب نون کیہ کیتو فرد بنیاب نون
تیری تاب بغیر نہ تاب ہے دہنیہ شکستہ راتیں خواب ہے
ہن کی کرملسن جائے کے مینوں طاقت نہیں زقار دی

कोई आखे जा महताब नू
तेरी ताब बगैर ना ताब है
हुन कीकर मिलसन जाए के

*Koi akhe ja mehtab nun
Teri tab baghair na tab hai
Hun ki kar milsan jaey ke*

क्या कीतो फ़रद बेताब नू
दिन्हें सुख ना रातीं ख़वाब है
मैनु ताकत नहीं रफ़तार दी

*keah kita fard betaab nun
dineh sukh na ratin khwab hai
mainu takat nahin raftar di.*

(Some one should tell Mehtab what have you done to Fard to make him so anxious ? Without your worry he could not have been so anxious; there is neither comfort during the day nor sleep at night (for him). How can I (the poet) go to meet my (friend), I have no strength left in me.)

Fard Faqir has described well his longing for the union with the Lord and after having met his Divine Beloved how he would like to spend the time. This has been beautifully and imaginatively portrayed by him in the following verse -

اے ہر دن بیف نہایاں کول نیامت بھریاں تھالیاں
بھو نال پیارے کھاریے۔ ہور مشک گلاب لگاویے

अज होवन लेफ़ नेहालीयाँ कोल नेआमताँ भरीयाँ थालीयाँ
बहो नाल प्यारे खावीए होर मुशक गुलाब लगावीए !

*Ajj hoven lef nihaliyaan, kol niyamat bharian thalian,
Baho naal piare khawiye, hor mushk gulab lagawiye.*

(Today (how nice it would be) in covers and mattresses with plates full of rare preparation, I should be sitting with my Beloved and eat them with Him and I should apply the scent of roses (on Him).)

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Maula Baksh Kushta, *Punjabi Shairaan da Tazkira*, p. 94.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 94. Shamin Choudhury, *Punjabi Adab-o-Tarikh*, p. 79.
4. *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 102.

5. Ibid., p. 102. *Seli* is a twisted woollen thread tied round the neck of the Sufis to indicate that they are mystics. The Sufis in the Punjab do not always put on woollen clothes. *Seli*, which is symbolic, is a remnant of the woollen garments.
6. Ibid., p. 102.
7. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 94.
8. Ibid., p. 95.
9. *Darya-i-Ma'rifat*. p. 5.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

HASHIM SHAH

Great Sufi Poets of the Punjab

HAFIZ MIRZAN

HASHIM SHAH (1752—1821 A.D.)

Hashim Shah belonged to the village Jagdeo Kalaan, in Ajnala tehsil, Amritsar district.¹ He was born, in 1752 A.D., to Haji Mohammad Sharif and his grandfather was Haji Masum Shah. Sufism was firmly entrenched in the family. It is said that his father, Haji Muhammad Sharif, who was a Sufi of renown, went on Hajj pilgrimage on several occasions and also had the privilege of serving as a sweeper at the holy tomb of the Prophet at Medina for many years. On his return, he came back to Jagdeo Kalaan where, besides performing the functions of a *Pir*, he pursued the profession of a *Unani* physician.² There is an anecdote related to Hashim Shah as to how he was drawn to spiritual pursuits of Sufism. It is said that in about 1766 A.D., Haji Muhammad Sharif was lying on his death-bed, and was sucking a small bundle of *Sat Isabgul* (psyllium husk) to keep his mouth moist, when a servant appeared before him and requested, "Huzoor, do some thing for young Hashim." Haji Sahib sent for Hashim. When Hashim came and stood beside the bed of his dying father, the small bundle which he was sucking, he put it in the mouth of Hashim. As soon as it was done, it is said, a trance-like condition prevailed upon Hashim; his mind was opened-up and he decided to follow the path of spiritualism.³ Hashim was about fourteen years old then. In the subsequent years, whenever he wanted to thoroughly grasp the study of any book, or an idea, it is said that Hashim would go to the grave of his father sit there and read the book or contemplate and he would acquire complete knowledge of whatever he was pursuing.⁴

Hashim, besides following the family tradition of *hikmat*, counselling and *Piri-Muridi*, also worked as a carpenter for sustenance. He left the profession of carpentry when Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his courtiers extended their patronage to Hashim.⁵ Thereafter, he devoted his entire life to spiritual attainments and composing mystic poetry.

Many scholars are at variance about Hashim's proximity to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Some say that there is not an iota of truth in it, yet others claim that he was almost like a court-poet of the Maharaja. The latter refer to Lahore

Gazetter of 1883 A.D., wherein on page 55, it is mentioned that Hashim was the court-poet of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁶ That many Sikh Chiefs extended patronage to Hashim, there is no doubt about it.

There are many versions as to how Hashim came close to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The most plausible explanation that we come across is that when Mahan Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, died in 1790 A.D., a few poets, Hashim among them, had written elegies. The elegy written by Hashim was much appreciated and when Ranjit Singh declared himself as the Maharaja of the Punjab in 1801 A.D., Hashim obtained access to the Maharaja and other Sikh chiefs.⁷ It is also true that we do not find any of his poetic compositions eulogizing the Maharaja or other Sikh chiefs; it would prove that he was not an ordinary poet but well respected for *the muse*. One day he came to the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and, on Maharaja's request, recited the following *Deora* :

کامل شوق ماہی دامینوں راہے نیت جگر وچ وسدا
 لوں لوں رسدا
 رانجھن بے پرواہی سودا اتے کوئی گناہ نہ وسدا
 اٹھ اٹھ ندا
 جیوں جیوں حال سناواں زور دیکھ تہی دل ہسدا
 ذرا نہ کھسدا
 ہاشم کام نہیں ہر کس دا عاشق ہون درسدا
 برہوں وسدا

کامل شوق ماہی دا مینو راہے نیت جیگر وچ وسدا
 لوں لوں رسدا
 رانجھن بے پرواہی سدا اتے کوئی گناہ نہ وسدا
 اٹھ اٹھ ندا
 جیوں جیوں حال سناواں رو رو دیکھ تہی دل ہسدا
 ذرا نہ کھسدا
 ہاشم کام نہیں ہر کس دا عاشق ہون درسدا
 برہوں وسدا

Kamal shauq mahi da mainu rahe nit jigar wich wasda
lun lun rasda
Ranjhan be parwarhi sauda atte koi gunah na wasda
uth uth nasda

*Jeun jeun haal sunawan ro ro dekh tatti dil hasda
zara na khusda
Hashim kaam nahin har kissda aashaq hon daras da
birhon wasda⁸*

(The complete love of my Beloved always remains in my heart and is absorbed in each of my pores. Love of Ranjha (God) is a careless business, it does not allow any sin to remain, as it escapes. Whenever I tell my condition crying, looking at it, the heart laughs but does not repent. Hashim ! It is not for everyone to become a Lover because of pain resulting from pangs of separation.)

Maharaja greatly appreciated this mystical verse and rewarded Hashim handsomely and continued to extend his patronage to the poet.

Hashim had three wives, two Muslims and one Hindu Brahmin. How he married the Hindu Brahmin lady, there are two versions of the story. One is that Hashim used to recite his poetic compositions in his melodious voice, a Brahmin lady living in the vicinity used to listen to them with rapt attention. She had fallen in love with him and fell on his feet and was accepted as his wife. The other version is that a Brahmin woman was suffering from a skin disease which her family thought was leprosy. She was uncared for and, literally, thrown out of her house. She was treated by Hashim, who used to practice *hikmat*. She was cured of the disease and continued to live with him as his wife.

Once Maharaja Ranjit Singh was taken ill at Lahore and was undergoing treatment of *Vaids* and *Hakims* but not to much effect. He sent for Hashim who went to Lahore. The Maharaja asked him to recite one of his recent compositions. Hashim, in his melodious voice, recited the following *Deora* -

مجنوں درد دیوانہ لیلیٰ گرد دکھاں دا گھیرا
تے قید چو فیرا

لکھیا نیکھ ایہو کجھ میرا اہ دس ناہیں کجھ میرا
اتے نہ تیرا
دھونڈاں چال ملن دی کوئی آتے لاواں زور بہتیرا
ملن او کھیرا
ہاتھم رات پئی سر مجنوں پر اوڑک ہوگ سویرا
چاک اندھیرا

मजन्नूँ दर्द दीवाना लैला गिर्द दुखँ दा घेरा
 ते कैद चोफेरा
 लिखाया लेख एहो कुझ मेरा ए वस नाहीं कुझ मेरा
 अतेना तेरा
 ढूँढाँ चाल मिलन दी कोई अते लावाँ ज़ोर बतेरा
 मिलन ओखेरा
 हाशम रात पई सर मजन्नूँ पर ओड़क होग सवेरा
 चाक अनधेरा !

*Majnun dard diwana laila gird dukhan da ghera
 te qaid chauphera
 Likhiya lekh eho kujh mera eh wass nahin kujh mera
 atte na tera
 Dhunda chaal milan di koi atte lawan zor batera
 milan aukhera
 Hashim raat paiyee sar majnun par orrak hog savera
 chaak andhera !*

(Majnun with pains of love was mad, Laila was surrounded by sorrows - they were surrounded by the prison-wall (of sorrows) on all four sides. Whatever is pre-ordained for me by the Providence, I have no control over that - neither have you. I look for the opportunity for meeting the Lord and I am trying my utmost - but meeting is very difficult. Hashim ! the night has fallen on Majnun (the Lover), and breaking of dawn (union with the Beloved) is yet far - there is darkness all around.)

With this recitation of Hashim, the Maharaja did feel better but asked him to again recite his earlier composition - "*Kamal shauq mahi da mainun*," which the poet recited much to the relief of the Maharaja.¹⁰

On the request of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Hashim composed the *Qissa of Sassi Punnu* which he recited on the occasion of Dussehra in full court of the Maharaja which was greatly appreciated by all. He was very well rewarded for his poetic rendition.¹¹

Maharaja Ranjit Singh also bestowed on Hashim, on different occasions, *jagirs* of village Tharpal, in Sialkot district, and village Jagdeo Kalaan, in Ajnala tehsil, Amritsar district. He in turn gave one *jagir* each to two of his sons. Hashim's father's *Khanqah* is in Jagdeo village, whereas his own grave is in Tharpal village where, until the partition of the country in 1947 A.D., on or about 21st of Jeth (end May-early June) every year, Urs Sharif was held which was attended by people from far and near.¹²

According to the research of Dhani Ram Chatrak, when Hashim became interested in reading and writing in Hindi and Sanskrit, he went to Varanasi where he learnt Sanskrit and composed verses in Hindi which are free-flowing and deeply absorbing.

HASHIM AS A SUFI

From the verses of Hashim, we gather that he was an earnest seeker after God and was persuaded of the truth of Sufi doctrines by the conditions of the world around him. Sufism ran in his family. He himself, his father and grandfather practised *piri-muridi*; he had, therefore, taken Sufism as an established belief. In his poetic compositions, he frequently refers to Mansur al-Hallaj and some times to other Sufis, such as Shamsi Tabrizi.¹³ His poetry reverbrates with mysticism of high order and can be allegorically interpreted for Love Divine. He was a Sufi of the philosophic school and, because of the constant warfare in the land, was, like other Sufis of the philosophic school, pessimistic in his approach to material welfare but keen on the welfare of the soul.¹⁴

HIS POETRY

Hashim was very well-versed in Arabic, Persian, Hindi and, his mother-tongue, Punjabi. About his knowledge of the languages of Arabic and Persian, in the words of Sir Richard Temple, Hashim "is apparent in his fondness for interlarding his poetry with Arabic and Persian words and phrases." His prosody is Punjabi though his vocabulary abounds in Hindi, Persian and Arabic words.¹⁵ He has written the following books :

Qissa Shirin Farhad, *Qissa Sohni Mahiwal*, *Qissa Sassi Punnu*, *Gyan Prakash*, and *Dohre*.

Of these *Sassi Punnu* and *Dohre* are his two master-pieces and have been published in many editions in various scripts of the Punjabi. Sir Richard

Temple transliterated in Roman characters with a resume in English his *Qissa of Sassi Punnu*. His *Gyan Prakash* is believed to be a philosophical work in Hindi, which is confirmed by Lala Kalidas of Gujranwala, who had a copy of the manuscript with him although it was not published.¹⁶ Other *Qissas* are well-written but, it must be admitted, *Sassi Punnu* and *Dohre* are considered to be his best works insofar as sentiments and terseness are concerned and it is, perhaps, for this reason that they have attained great popularity.

He is also accredited with the writing of *Raj Niti*, *Gyan Mala*, *Tibb-i-Hashim*, *Biaz Hashim*, *Shalok Hashim*, *Siharfian Hashim* and *Diwan Hashim*, etc.¹⁷

Love does not remain hidden. Hashim has expressed it beautifully in the following verse -

عشق چھپایا چھپدا ناہیں بھانہ چھپدی لکھیں
اودرک اکر دن باہر آوے نشر ہووے دج لکھیں

इश्क छुपाया छुपदा नाहीं
भा ना छुपदी कक्खीं
ओडक इक दिन बाहर आवे
नशर होवे विच लिखीं

*Ishq chhupaya chhupda nahin
bha na chhapdi kakkhin
Orrak ikk din bahar awe
nashar hove wich likkhin.*

(Howsoever you may try, Love does not remain hidden, just as fire cannot remain hidden under the straws. The hidden (God), one day, will manifest, it has been stated in writing).

About himself, Hashim says in all humility -

ہاشم نام رکھا یا اُس نے اک دمڑی پاس نہ جس دے
عاجز حال احوال نہ کوئی کیہ وصف سنائے تیس دے
تن پیچڑوں گھاٹل زخمی تے نین بھیرے نیت وس دے
پر ہاشم نون حشمت ایو ہور کرم وندائے کس دے

ہاشم نام رکھا یا उस نے
इक दमड़ी पास ना जिस दे
आजिज़ हाल अहवाल ना कोई
की वसफ़ सुनाईये तिस दे
तन पिजँर 'दिल धायल ज़खमी'
ते नैन भरे नित वस दे
पर हाशम नू हशमत एहो
होर करम वन्डाऐ किस दे !

*Hashim nam rakhaya us ne
ikk damari paas na jisde
Aajiz haal ahwal na koi
keah wasaf sunaye tis de
Tann pinjar, dil ghayal zakhmi
nain bhare nit wasde
Par hashim nun hashmat eho
hor karam wandae kissde.*

(He was named Hashim who did not have a farthing. He is fed up from everything and what can we tell of his qualities ? His body is a skeleton, his heart is broken and his eyes are all the time weeping; this is the glory of Hashim and he cannot share the actions of others.)

QISSA OF SASSI PUNNU

The object of writing this *Qissa* of Sassi Punnu is explained by Hashim in the following couplet -

سُن سُن بہت سسی دیاں باتاں کامل عشق کایا
ہاشم جو ست تھیں ات کیتا وہم اُتے دل آیا

सुन सुन बहुत सस्सी दीयाँ बातों कामल इश्क कमाया
हाशम जो सत्त थीं अत्त कीता वहम उन्ते वल आया

Sun sun bahut sassi dian bataan kamil ishq kamaya
Hashim jo satt thin att keeta weham utte wall aya.

(Hearing many tales about Sassi and the love she fulfilled,
what was true and truly upheld, Hashim was obsessed
with the idea (of writing the tale).)

The work of Hashim is based on the Sindhi story of Sassi, which was also composed by other Punjabi poets before him. The poet begins the story by telling that Adam, the Jam (Raja or Nawab) of Bhambor, was a great and just ruler. He was issueless and prayed for progeny and after long years a daughter was born to his wife and was called Sassi. Astrologers predicted that on growing up Sassi will fall in love and the circumstances will compel the lovers to separate and she will die of the sorrow of separation's pain. Thereby she will disgrace her family. Accordingly, the parents keen to save the family from the predicted ignominy, tying a talisman round the neck of the newly born babe put her in a wooden box inlaid with precious stones and filled with treasure and put it into the river. A short distance away, the box was found floating by a washerman by the name of Atta who was working on the bank of the river. He thanked Providence for finding this treasure and was more surprised when he opened the box and found a baby girl. He and his wife reared the girl like their own child. Sassi grew up into a beautiful lissome lass. Many washermen suitors sought her hand but she refused them all. The news of her beauty reached the Jam's court and he sent for Sassi. Sassi did not go, but sent her talisman instead. When the Jam saw it, he and his wife were deeply touched. They wanted Sassi to come back but she proudly refused to do so.

A rich man of Bhambor had lovely gardens where he established a gallery of portraits of kings and princes of the time for the viewing of general public. Sassi happened to visit the gallery along with friends and was struck by the portrait of the young prince of Kecham in Bilochistan. Not knowing how to

reach the prince, she wrote to her royal father to grant her lands where the Bilochis of Kecham entered Bhambor. Her wish having been granted, she built a check-post and laid out a garden there and ordered that none should be allowed to pass without seeing her first. Biloch merchants who came to trade from Kecham paid their respects to Sassi. They also came to know of Sassi's professed love for Punnu, the Prince of Kecham, and on their return related the matter to Punnu and also told him of the exceptional beauty of Sassi. Punnu, against the wishes of his father Ali, the King of Kecham, reached the city of Bhambor and rested in the gardens attached to check-post. Soon Sassi appeared on the scene, their eyes met and they fell deeply in love. Punnu thereafter lived happily with Sassi. When this news reached Ali, he was furious. His other sons devised a scheme of bringing Punnu back. They, ostensibly, came to meet Punnu and took sweet wine with them and visited Bhambor where they met Punnu and Sassi. Great festivities were arranged in honour of the guests where sweet wine was served after dinner which had its effects on all. The brothers, surreptitiously, carried sleeping Punnu with them, to Kecham.

In the morning when Sassi woke, she found Punnu gone which made her extremely sad and inconsolable. In spite of the advices given to her by her foster-mother and others, in a fit of madness, she left barefooted for the Kingdom of Ali. The heat and sun and the burning sand of the desert took their toll and shouting the name of her beloved Punnu, she fell dead. A shepherd who was a witness to this heart-rending spectacle was so much affected that he became a *faqir* and buried Sassi and became the guardian of her grave.

In the meantime, the spirit of Sassi met Punnu in a dream and told him that she had given her life for him. He woke up in his parent's house. He prepared to return to Sassi but his family would not let him go. When Punnu threatened to take his life, the family eventually gave in and he set off for Bhambor. On way to Bhambor, he spotted newly made grave and enquired of the shepherd *faqir* guarding the grave whose grave was that and was told that it was the grave of a peerless beauty who breathed her last crying for her beloved Punnu. It is said that Punnu swooned dead on the grave, which opened, and put out two arms to receive him. The lovers were thus united after death.

EXTRACTS FROM THE QISSA

After long years, when a daughter was born to the wife of Jam of Bhambor, she was named Sassi. Hashim says that the astrologers prophesied as follows -

کامل عشق سستی تاں ہوگی جب ہوگوجوان سیانی
مست بہوش تھلاں وچ مرسی درد فراق رنجہانی

کامل عشق سستی تاں ہوگی جب ہوگوجوان سیانی
مست بہوش تھلاں وچ مرسی درد فراق رنجہانی !

*Kamil ishq sassi tan hosi
jab hogu jawan siani
Mast behosh thallan wich marsi
dard faraq ranjhani*

(Perfect love will come to Sassi when she grows and attains youth. Enamoured, fainting in desert, she will die of terrible sorrow and pains.)

It was further prophesied that -

ہاشم داغ لگے اُسکے نون جگ وچ ہوگ کہانی

ہاشم داغ لگے اُسکے نون جگ وچ ہوگ کہانی !

*Hashim dagh lagge us kul nun
jagg wich hog kahani*

(Hashim ! disgrace will come to her family, it (the story of her love) will become a public story.)

When brothers of Punnu took him away from Sassi, she was inconsolable, and wanted to follow him to Kecham but her adoptive mother advised her to forget Punnu in the following words -

دھوبن ماں نصیحت کردی آدھی پو راہیں
دھوبن ذات کین کرکے پھڑکے تھہ تاہیں
بچ بچ بھیرا سے دل دوڑے لاچ اچے تھہ ناہیں
ہاشم دیکھ دکھاں دل پا کے گھنڈ بلوچ بلاہیں

धोबन माँ नसीहत कर दी आ धीए पौ राहीं
 धोबन जात कमीनी कर के छोड़ गये तुध ताहीं
 भझ भझ फेर उसे वल दौड़े लाज अजे तुध नहीं
 हाशम वेख दुखँ वल पाके घुण्ड बलोच बलाई

*Dhoban ma nasihat kardi aa dhie pau rahin,
 Dhoban zaat kamini kar ke chhor gaye tudh tahin.
 Bhaj bhaj pher usse wal daurey laaj aje tudh nahin
 Hashim wekh dukkhan wal pake ghund biloch balain*

(The *dhoban* (washerwoman), adoptive mother, gives advice : "Daughter, come to the real path. Considering washer-woman's caste low, they (Punnu and his brothers) have abandoned you. Again and again towards him you run. Have you no shame ?" Hashim, throwing a veil, sees your suffering; the Biloch is an evil spirit.)

To this Sassi replies, with firm determination -

मरसाँ मूल न मरसाँ जान तली पर धरसाँ
 जद तक जान रहे विच तन दे मरनो मूल ना डरसाँ
 जे रब कूक ससी दी सुनसी जा पल्ला उसदा फड़साँ
 हाशम नहीं शहीदन होके थल मारु विच मरसाँ

मरसाँ मूल ना मुड़साँ जान तली पर धरसाँ
 जद तक जान रहे विच तन दे मरनो मूल ना डरसाँ
 जे रब कूक ससी दी सुनसी जा पल्ला उसदा फड़साँ
 हाशम नहीं शहीदन होके थल मारु विच मरसाँ

*Marsan mul na mursan, jan talli par dharsan,
 Jad takk jan rahe wich tann de marnon mul na darsan ;
 Je rabb kook sassi di sunsi ja palla us da phadsan,
 Hashim nahin shahidan hoke thal maru wich marsan.*

(I will die, but will not return at all from my path; I will place my life on the palm of my hand. So long as life remains in my body, I will not fear for death. Should God hear the cries of Sassi, I shall catch hold of his skirt.

Otherwise, O Hashim, I will become a martyr in the sandy desert.)

While in the desert, in prusuit of her lover, the condition of Sassi is described by Hashim in the following random verses -

گھن گھیر جو پیرے گھیرے ٹھاٹھاں لین کلاوے
ہراں زور کرن ہر طرفوں اک آوے اک جاوے

धुम्मन घेर चौफेरे घेरे ठाँठाँ लैन कलावे
लैहराँ ज़ोर करन हर तरफ़ीँ इक आवे इक जावे

Ghuman gher chauphere ghere thathan lain kalawe
Lehran zor karan har tarfon ikk awe ikk jawe

(The dust-storms had surrounded her from all the four sides and the strong waves of sand were hitting her incessantly from all sides.)

کچھ بہندی کچھ ڈیگی ڈھیندی اُٹھدی تے دم لہندی
جیوں کر ٹوٹ شرابوں آوے پیرا ہاں دل ڈھیندی

कुझ बहन्दी, कुझ डिगदी टहन्दी, उठदी ते दम लैन्दी
ज्यूँ कर टूट शराबीँ आवे फेर उताहाँ वल टहन्दी

Kujh behndi, kujh digdi dhendi, uth di te dam lendi
Jeu kar toot sharabon awe pher uttanh wal dhendi.

(She would sit for some time, she would fall for some time and then rise to take deep breaths, like a drunkard.)

About the heartlessness of Bilochis, who had taken away Punnu by a strategum from Sassi, Hashim says -

اُہ کی جانن سار عشق دی جیہڑے اونٹ جرادن والے

ओह की जानन सार इश्क दी जेहड़े उँँ चरावन वाले

Oh ki janan saar ishq di
Jehre oonth charawan wale ?

(What would they know of the quintessence of love who only know how to graze camels ?)

The separation of Punnu maddened Sassi and, in a fit of madness, she followed him bare-footed. The heat in the desert was unbearable, yet she would not return. Hashim has described the scene with great artistry -

چمکی آن دوپہراں ویلے گرمی گرم بے ہارے
تپدی واڈگے آسمانوں پنچھی مار اُتارے
آتش دا دریا کھلوتا تھاں مارو وی سارے
ہاشم فیر پشان نہ مڑدی لُون لُون ہوت پکارے

نازک پیر گلاب سسی دے مہندی نال شنگارے
بالو ریت تپے ویں تھل دے جیوں جو بھن بھیارے
سورج بھج دیا ویں بدلیں دردا لیشک نہ مارے
ہاشم دیکھ یاقین سسی دا سیدکوں مل نہ ہارے

चम्की आँ दोपहराँ वेले गरमी गरम बिहारे
तपदी वा वगे आसमानों पँछी मार उतारे
आतिश दा दरिया खलोता थल मारु विच सारे
हाशम फेर पिशाँ नहीं मुड़ दी लूँ लूँ होत पुकारे !

नाज़ुक पैर सस्सी दे मैहन्दी नाल श्रिंगारे
बालू रेत तपे विच थल दे जूँ जौ भुनन भटियारे
सूरज भज वड़या विच बदली डरदा लिशक ना मारे
हाशम वेख यकीन सस्सी दा सिककाँ मुल ना हारे !

*Chamki an dopehran wele garmi garm behare
Tapdi wa wagge asmano panchhi mar uttare
Atash da darya khalota thal maru wich sare
Hashim pher pishan na mur di lun lun hot pukare.*

*Nazuk pair gulab sassi de mehndi nal shingare
Balu ret tappe wich thal de jiun jau bhunan bhatihare
Suraj bhaj waria wich badlin darda lishk na mare
Hashim wekh yaqin sassi da sidkon mul na hare.*

(At midday, heat of the hot season increased. Burning air blew from sky, felling the birds and killing them. A river of fire was flowing all over the desert. Hashim! still she did not turn back, each pore of her cried for Hot (name of Punnu).

The delicate, rose-like, feet of Sassi with *mehndi* beautified, were in the hot sand of the desert like roast barley in an oven. The sun ran and hid behind the clouds, through fear he did not shine. Hashim! behold conviction of Sassi, she did not fail.)

When Punnu enquired of the shepherd *faqir* about the newly made grave, the *faqir* replies -

آنکھ او فقیر پتوں نون کھول حقیقت ساری
آہی نال پری دی صورت گرمی ماری و چاری
جیدی ناں پتوں دا آہی درد عشق دی ماری
ہاشم نام مکان نہ جاناں آہی کون و چاری

आखे ओ फ़कीर पुनु नू खोल हकीकत सारी,
आही नाल परी दी सूरत गरमी मारी विचारी;
जपदी नाँ पुनु दा आही दर्द इश्क दी मारी,
हाशम नाम مکان ना जानाँ अही कौन विचारी !

*Akkhe oh faqir punnu nun khol haqiqat sari
Ahi nar pari di surat garmi mari wichari
Japp di na punnu da ahi dard ishq di mari
Hashim nam makan na janan ehi kaun wichari.*

(That *faqir* relates to Punnu stating the whole truth: "She was a woman, image of a fairy, dead because of heat, poor thing. Repeating the name of Punnu she died of love's pain." Hashim! (the *faqir* says) her name and address I do not know, nor who the poor soul was.)

How Punnu is overwhelmed with grief and dies on hearing the tragic news is graphically portrayed by Hashim in the following words -

گل سس ہوت زینے ڈگا کھا کلیجہ کا فی
کھل گئی گور پیا وچ قبرے پیر طرہ دل جانی
خاطر عشق کی رل مٹی صورت حسن جفا فی
ہاشم عشق کمال سسی دا جگ وچ رہی کبانی

गल सुन होत ज़मीने डिग्गा खा कलेजा कानी
खुल गई गोर प्या विच कबरे फेर मिले दिल जानी

खातिर इश्क गई रल मिट्टी सूरत हुसन जनानी
हाशम इश्क कमाल सस्सी दा जग विच रही कहानी !

*Gall sunn hot zamin ne digga kha kaleja kani,
Khull gayee gor pea wich qabre pher mile dil jani.
Khatar ishq gayee rall mitti surat husn janani,
Hashim ishq kamal sassi da jagg wich rahi kahani.*

(Hearing that speech, with cramps in his heart, Hot (name of Punnu) fell to the earth, the grave opened up and he fell into the grave and the lovers met again. For the sake of love, the beautiful image of woman was mixed with dust; Hashim ! the perfect love of Sassi was wonderful and her story has remained in the world.)

Hashim's treatment of the story is full of pathos, deep feelings, human shortcomings, the pains of separation of lovers and what happens after love has taken firm roots in the human heart, and it differs from that of his predecessors in that, his central idea was to describe the true love of the hero and heroine and concentrate all his thought on the description of their love in a most impressive manner. Through the medium of this immortal love-story, Hashim has expressed his Sufism in the same manner as Jami expressed his in the tale of *Yusuf Zulaikha* in Persian.

HIS SIHARFIAN

Sufism of Hashim is amply reflected in his *Sihtarfiyan* which are innumerable.¹⁸ A few are given here.

How, those in love with God, for not meeting Him, adopt escapist attitude is explained by Hashim, as follows -

۸۔ ہر پُست دے ویج دوست او ہر دوست روپ وٹا دے
دوست تک نہ پہنچے کوئی لے پُست ایہ چاہیلا وے
دوست خاص پچھانے تائیں خد پُست خاک رلا وے
ہاشم شاہ خد دوست پاوے خد پُست دل کہ جاوے

हे हर हर पोस्त दे विच दोस्त ओहो दोस्त रूप बटावे
दोस्त तक ना पहुँचे कोई एहा पोस्त एहा चा भुलावे

दोस्त खास पछाने ताई जद पोस्त खाक रुलावे
हाशम शाह जद दोस्त पावे तद पोस्त वल कद जावे !

He : *Har har post de wich dost oho
dost roop watave,
Dost takk na pauhnche koi
eha post eha bhulave.
Dost khas pachhane tain
jud post khak rulave
Hashim shah jad dost paave
tad post wal kad jave.*

(**He :** In each and every poppy-head (intoxicating flower - here it means religion with its dogmas) the same Friend (God) exists, who keeps on changing his guise. When one does not reach the Friend, this poppy-head (religious dogma) helps in forgetting the desire of Him. Friend recognises only when poppy-head hits the dust (dry dogmas are forgotten). Hashim Shah, when the Friend is found, why will any one seek the help of poppy-head ?)

In the following *Siharfi*, Hashim tells how Love breaks the established codes and follows its own path.

ते - توڑ زنجیر شریعت نسدا جدر چدا عشق مجازی
دل نون چوٹ لگی جس دن دی اسان خوب کھی رند بازی
بھج بھج روح دے بت خانے اتے ظاہر جسم نمازی
ہاشم خوب پڑھایا دل نون اس بیٹھ عشق دے قاضی

ते तोड़ ज़नजीर शरीअत नसदा जद रचदा इश्क मजाज़ी
दिल नू चोट लगी जिस दिन दी असाँ खूब सिखी रिन्दबाज़ी
भज भज रुह वडे बुतखाने अते ज़ाहर जिस्म नमाज़ी
हाशम खूब पढ़ाया दिल नू एस बैठ इश्क दे काज़ी !

Te : *Tor zanjir shariat nasda
jad rachda ishq majazi,
Dil nun chot lagi jis din di
assan khub sikhi rind baazi.*

*Bhaj bhaj rooh ware but-khane
atte zahir jism namazi,
Hashim khub padhaiya dil nun
es baith ishq de qazi.*

(**Te** : When (the Soul) is seized of heathen love (here he means Love Divine), it runs breaking all the (established) codes. Ever since I am struck by this love, I have learnt very well the code of lovers. Although outworldly my body is at prayers, inwardly my soul runs to the idol-house (abode of my Beloved). Hashim, as the Qazi (magistrate) of love, tried his level best to teach his heart (but to no avail).)

In the following *Siharfi*, Hashim says that how changes occur in the world and how the world itself is only a stage in the pilgrim's progress to reach the ultimate goal -

الف - اکسے تار بہار نہ رہندی نہیں اکسے طور زمانہ
ہر دم چال نہیں اُبیلی نہیں ہر دم زور جو اُنہ
رو دن سوگ ہمیش نہ ہووے نہیں نیت نیت راگ شہا
لاشم بیٹھ گیاں لکھ ڈاراں ایہہ جگت مسافر خانہ

अलफ़ इकसे तार बहार ना रहन्दी नहीं इकसे तौर ज़माना
हर दम चाल नहीं अलबेली नहीं हर दम ज़ोर जवाना
रोवन सोग हमेश ना होवे नहीं नित नित राग शहाना
हाशम बैठ गईयाँ लख डाराँ एहा जगत मुसाफ़िर खाना !

Alaf : *Ikkse tar bahaar na rehndi nahin ikkse taur zamana
Har dam chaal nahin albeli nahin har dam zor jawana
Rowann sog hamesh na hove nahin nit nit raag shahana
Hashim baith gaiyan lakh daraan eha jagat musafir khana.*

(**Alaf** : Neither the spring remains for ever, nor remain the same the ways of the world; neither anew remains the gait nor ever remains the strength of youth. It is not that one has to always cry for sorrow nor that one has to sing ever the song of happiness. Hashim says,

hundred thousand groups have sat here as this world is only a stage in the pilgrim's progress (to his ultimate goal).)

تے۔ تن دی چھا بناوے دیپک تاں آ جلمن پر وانی
بھانبر ہور ہزاراں دسدے پر اس پتنگ دیوانے
اپنا آپ بناوے کرے سو کرے کباب بیگانے
ہاشم رہے دلاں دی دل وچ ہور جادو سحر بہانے

ते तन दी चखा बनावे दीपक ताँ आ जलन परवाने
भौंभड़ होर हज़ाराँ दिसदे पर इस पतँग दीवाने
अपना आप बनावे कोले सो करे कबाब बेगाने
हाशम रहे दिलाँ दी दिल विच होर जादू सहर बहाने !

Te : *Tann di chakhaa banave deepak taan aa jalan parwane,
Bhambhar hor hazaraan diss de par iss patang diwane,
Apna aap banave kole so kare kabab begane;
Hashim rahe dillan di dil wich hor jadu sehar bahane.*

(**Te :** When the lamp's body burns, only then the moths come to court death. Though there are other thousands of fires burning, but the mad moth burns itself into coal on the burning lamp only. Hashim says, let the mystery of heart remain in the heart, all others are magical illusions.)

In the following *Siharfi*, Hashim laments about the impermanence of all glory and grandeur and very nicely explains that everything in the world is ephemeral in nature, only your present life is important -

ک۔ رکھے شاہ سیکندر دارا آتے جام گیا کیت جم دا
تھر کن دیو جنہاں دی تیغوں تے دھول پیانت کم دا
دھونڈیاں خاک تنہاں نہیں لہدی اہ جگت برا گھر غم دا
ہاشم جان غنیمت دم نوں بھلا کیا بھروسہ دم دا

काफ किथे शाह सिकंदर दारा अते जाम गया कित जम दा
थिड़कन देओ जिन्हों दी तेगाँ ते धूल प्या नित कम दा !

दूडियाँ खाक तिन्हों नही लभदी ए जगत बुरा घर ग़म दा
हाशम जान ग़नीमत दम नू भला क्या भरोसा दम दा !!

Kaf : *Kithe shah sikandar dara atte jam gaya kit jam da,
Thirkan deo jinhan di teghon te dhool peya nit kam da;
Dhoondhian khak tinhan nahin labhdi eh jagat bura ghar gham da,
Hashim jaan ghanimat dum nun bhalla kea bhārosa dam da.*

(**Kaf :** Where are the Kings Alexander and Darius and where is the Jam-i-Jamshed (the legendary cup of Jamshed) ? Where are they in front of whose sword even dust trembled ? By searching (now), even their dust cannot be found. This world is a bad home of (full of) anxieties. Hashim says, this (present) life is blissful; who knows when will the breath stop.)

HIS DOHRE

Hashim was a pure Sufi in his *Dohre* (quartets) where he has enshrined his inner mystic emotions. He is at his best in *Dohre* which have not only won him acclaim of the pious but also esteem of the learned.¹⁹ It would appear that these *Dohre* were composed by Hashim at an advanced age when his poetry and thought had fully matured. His *Dohre* are known for delicacy of expression, ecstatic rapture and great abandon of mystic ideas. Hashim is often compared with Omar Khayyam of *Rubaiyat* fame.

He explains the difference between the so-called lovers of God and the true seekers in the following *Dohra* -

رَبِّ دَعا شوقِ ہون سکھلا اے بہت سکھلتی بازی
غوشہ پکڑ رہے ہو صابر پھر تسبیح بنے نمازی
سکھ آرامِ جگتِ وحِ شو بھاتے دیکھ ہوے جگہ مافی
آئیم خاکِ رُلا دے نکلیاں تے اے کافر عشقِ مجازی

रब्ब दा आशक होन सखल्ला ए बहुत सखल्ली बाज़ी
गोशा पकड़ रहे हो साबर फड़ तसबीह बने नमाज़ी
सुख आराम जगत विच शोभा अते वेख होवे जग राजी
हाशम खाक रुलावे गल्लियाँ ते ए काफ़िर इश्क मजाज़ी !

*Rabb da aashiq hon sakkhalla eh bahut sakkhali baazi,
Gosha pakar rahe ho sabar phar tasbih bane namaazi.
Sukh aram jagat wich shobha ate wekkh hove jagg raazi,
Hashim khak rulawe gallian te eh kafir ishq majaazi.*

(To be a lover of God is easy, it is a very easy game;
simply sit patiently in a corner, hold a rosary and say
the prayers. Thus will come rest, comfort and fame in
the world and the people will be happy on seeing them;
but Hashim, this heathen (*majaazi*) love (alluded to love
of God of Sufis) will reduce you to poverty which will
make you roll in dust of the streets.)

The following extract from a *Dohra* of Hashim explains, faithfully, his mystic ideas -

چندا چمک دکھال نہ سانوں اتے نہ کرمان ودھیرا
تیں جیسے لکھ چڑھن اسانوں سجنان باجھ اندھیرا
चदाँ चमक वखाल ना सानू अते ना कर मान वधेरा
तै जहे लख चढ़न आसानू सजनाँ बाझ अन्धेरा !

*Chanda chamak wakhal na sanun,
atte na kar maan wadhera;
Tain jehe lakh chadhan asanun
sajnan bajh andhera.*

(Moon ! Don't show us your brightness and don't feel
mighty proud of it; like you hundred thousand may
rise, but without Friend (God), it is all darkness for us.)

Again he says -

گل تے خار پیدا ئش اک سے باغ چمن دی دو نویں
اک شب گلاں دی اوڑک اتے خار رہن نیت اونویں
تھوڑا رہن قبول پیارے پرتوں خار نہ ہو ویں
ماںم آن ملیں گل ہنس کے بھانویں اک پل پاس کھلویں

गुल ते खार पैदाइश इक से बाग चमन दी दोवें
इक शब गुलौं दी ओड़क अते खार रहन नित ओवें
धोड़ा रहन कबूल प्यारे पर तूँ खार ना होवें
हाशम आन मिलन गुल हसके भावें इक पल पास खलोवें !

*Gull te khar paidaish ikk se bagh chaman di doven,
Ikk shab umar gullan di orak atte khar rehan nit onven
Thora rehan qabul piare par tun khar na hoveen,
Hashim aan millan gull hass ke bhanven ikk pal paas khaloven.*

(The rose and thorn are the product of the same garden. The roses have a life span of one night only whereas the thorns remain the same for ever. Ephemeral life is acceptable but, dear friend, you should not be like thorns. Hashim says, let the roses meet with smiles on their faces even if they come and stand beside for a moment only.)

وید کتاب پڑھن چترائی آتے جب تب سا دھ بناوے
بھگوے بھیس کرن کس کارن اوہ من دا کھوٹ لکاوے
مورکھ جاوڑے اوس دیرے آتے اوکھڑ منم گواوے
آتم مکت نصیب جنہاں دے سوئی درد مندا ولاوے

वेद किताब पढ़न चतुराई अते जब तब साध बनावे
भगवे भेस करन किस कारन ओह मन दा खोट लुकावे
मूरख जा वेड़ ओस वेड़े आते औखड़ जनम गवावे
हाशम मुक्त नसीब जिन्हों दे सोई दर्द मन्दा वलावे !

*Ved kitab padhan chaturai ate jab tab sadh banave
Bhagwe bhes karan kiss karan oh man da khot lukave
Murakh ja ware us wehre ate aukhad janam gawawe
Hashim mukt nasib jinhaan de so dard manda walawe.*

(Reading of the Ved, the book, is cleverness, because now and again it will make (the reader) a knower; what is the guise of a recluse for ? It hides impurity of heart. The ignorant enters the courtyard (path) and wastefully spends his life; Hashim says, they come to sufferers for whom salvation is ordained.)

زاہد عبادت چاہے دیکھے ناہیں ہرگز دھیان نہ کر دا
شاہ منصور چاہڑ یا سولی آتے یوسف کیتو سو بردا
کس گل دے وج راضی ہووے کوئی بھید نہیں ایس گل دا
ہاشم بے پردا ہی کو لوں میرا ہر ویلے جیو ڈر دا

ज़ाहद इबादत चाहे वेखे नाहीं हर गिज़ ध्यान ना करदा
शाह मनसूर चाड़िया सूली अते यूसुफ कीतो सू बरदा
किस गल दे विच राज़ी होवे कोई भेद नहीं ऐस गल दा
हाशम बे परवाही कोलौ मेरा हर वेले ज्यू डरदा !

*Zahid ibadat chahe wekkhe nahin hargiz dhiyan na kardā,
Shah Mansur charriya suli ate yusuf keeto su barda;
Kiss gall de wich raazi howe koi bhed nahin ais gall da,
Hashim beparwahi kolon mera har wele jiu darda.*

(The orthodox prays (for God) but does not see Him and pays no attention at all; he (the orthodox) put Shah Mansur on the cross and made Joseph a slave. By what may he be pleased ? There is no secret in this matter. Hashim, my heart is always scared of his indifference.)

دل سولی جو سیج سجن دے نیت خون جگر دا پیوے
نین سولی جو آس درس دی نیت رہن ہمیشہ کھیوے
دل بے درد بیا ضی بھریا شالا اوہر کیسے نہ تھیوے
آشتم سو دل جان رنگیلا جیہڑا ویکھ دلاں دل جیوے

दिल सोई जो सेज सज़न दे नित खून ज़िगर दा पीवे
नैन सोई जो आस दरस दी नित रेहन हमेशा खीवे
दिल बे दर्द बयाज़ी भरया शाला ओह हर किसे ना थीवे
हाशम सो दिल जान रँगीला जेहड़ा देख दिलाँ वल जीवे !

*Dil soi jo sej sajjan de nit khun jigār da peeve,
Nain soi jo aas daras di nit rehan hameshan khive;
Dil be dard biazī bhariya shalla oh har kisse na thive,
Hashim so dil jaan rangila jehra dekkh dilan wal jive.*

(Heart is that which always on the Beloved's bed drinks its own heart's blood. Eyes are those which remain ever intoxicant for the sight of the Beloved. An unsympathetic heart is full of disease, God, everyone must not possess it. Hashim, that heart is *rangila* (dyed

in the colour of Divine Love) which lives by looking at the hearts of others.)

Hashim believed that only those could realise Love Divine who have renounced all superficial religion and faith.

جس وچ جنگ برہون دا پیا تر نال ہو مکھ دھوتا
شمع جمال دٹھا پروانے اُتے آن شہید کھلوتا
جا منصور ہو یا مد ماتا تہ سولی نال پروتا
ہاشم عشق ایہ جیہا ملیا جن دین مذہب سب دھوتا

जिस विच जगँ बिरहों दा प्या तिस नाल लहू मुख धोता
शमा जमाल डिठा परवाने अते आन शहीद खलोता
जा मनसूर होया मद माता तद सूली नाल परोता
हाशम इश्क एहा जेहा मिलेया जिन दीन मज़हब सब धोता !

*Jis wich jang birhon da pea, tis nal lahu mukh dhota;
Shama jamal ditha parwane, ate aan shahid khalota.
Ja mansur hoya madmaata, tadh suli nal parota;
Hashim ishq eha jeha milia jin deen mazhab sub dhota.*

(One in whom the battle of *birha* (separation) has commenced, he has washed his face with blood (has sacrificed himself for Truth). The glory of candle was seen by the moth, who came and became a martyr. When Mansur was filled with Divine Passion, then he was threaded to the cross. Hashim says, (Divine) love was attained by those souls, who washed up (gave up) all faith and religion.)

Hashim also composed many *Deoras*,²⁰ as already explained earlier, which are quite distinct from *Dohras*, as for example -

ماہی پار آرام نہ مینوں میں مٹھی تیغِ نظردی
ترے کردی

سوزنی خوار ہوئی جگ سارے جورات مکے چتا تر دی
 ذرا نہ ڈر دی
 بے بنی لاچار سوزنی میں، پھراں بہانے کر دی
 گھاٹ نہ تر دی
 آسم صدق سوزنی دا دیکھو، اتے حکمت جادو گر دی
 پرکھ نہ تر دی

माही पार आराम ना मैनुँ मैं मुट्ठी तेग नज़र दी
 तरले करदी
 सोहनी खवार होई जग सारे जो रात समे चना तरदी
 ज़रा ना डरदी
 हाए बनी लाचार सोहनी में फिराँ बहाने करदी
 घाट ना तरदी
 हाशम सिदक सोहनी दा वेखो अते हिकमत जादूगर दी
 परख मितर दी !

*Mahi par araam na mainu, main mutthi teg nazar di
 tarle kardi
 Sohni khwar hoi jagg sare, jo raat same chana tardi
 zara na dardi
 Hai bani lachar sohni main phiran bahane kardi
 ghat na tardi
 Hashim siddaq sohni da wekho ate hikmat jadu gardi
 parakh mitardi.*

(The Beloved is across, there is no rest for me, I am lost, deceived by the sword-like glance, I beseech (Him). Sohni was lost in the whole world who swam the Chenab at night without any fear. Alas ! becoming dejected like Sohni, I am wandering and making excuses but do not swim across. Hashim says, look at the sincerity of Sohni and look at her skill of a magician and the discrimination of a friend.)

The influence of Sufi thought and verse on Punjabi literature, on the whole, has been tremendous. There was hardly any poet or writer who remained free

from this influence. Even the writers of romance absorbed so much of mystic ideas that people often thought them to be Sufis.

The mystic idea that love is supreme and beyond all religious and social barriers has also passed on into the entire Punjabi literature. It has left a remarkable legacy for posterity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 141.
2. Ibid., p. 41.
3. Shamim Choudhury, op. cit., p. 117.
4. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit. p. 141.
5. Ibid., p. 141.
6. Ibid., p. 141.
7. Ibid., p. 142.
8. Ibid., p. 142.
9. Ibid., p. 142.
10. Ibid., p. 143.
11. Ibid., p. 143.
12. Ibid., p. 143.
13. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 112.
14. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 144.
15. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 112.
16. Ibid., p. 113.
17. Maula Baksh Kushta, op. cit., p. 144.
18. Shamim Choudhury, op. cit., pp. 118-120.
19. L. Rama Krishna, op. cit., p. 120.
20. Ibid., p. 123. *Deorahs* are one-and-a-half lines.

from this influence. Even the writers of history showed so much of romantic ideas that people often thought them to be poets.

The romantic ideas that have so captured and beguiled all nations and centuries have also passed on into the realm of Indian literature. It has left a remarkable legacy for posterity.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Manu Smriti, Manusmriti, pp. 1-2.
2. Ibid. p. 41.
3. Shama Shastry, op. cit. p. 117.
4. Manu Smriti, Manusmriti, pp. 1-2.
5. Ibid. p. 117.
6. Ibid. p. 117.
7. Ibid. p. 117.
8. Ibid. p. 117.
9. Ibid. p. 117.
10. Ibid. p. 117.
11. Ibid. p. 117.
12. Ibid. p. 117.
13. J. Ranga Rao, op. cit. p. 117.
14. Manu Smriti, Manusmriti, pp. 1-2.
15. J. Ranga Rao, op. cit. p. 117.
16. Ibid. p. 117.
17. Manu Smriti, Manusmriti, pp. 1-2.
18. Shama Shastry, op. cit. p. 117.
19. J. Ranga Rao, op. cit. p. 117.
20. Ibid. p. 117.

Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

EPILOGUE

Great Sufi Poets of The Panjab

EPITOME

EPILOGUE

The contribution of the great Sufi poets of the Punjab to the language, literature and composite culture of the land of five rivers has been quite extensive, varied and unique. Their highly spiritual songs, hymns, *Kafis*, melodies and other compositions form a common and invaluable heritage for all the people of the Punjab. Their lyrical effusions have given a distinct stream of poetry, commonly known as *Sufiana Kalam* (صُوفِيَانَه كَلَام) 'or *Sufi Kaviya-dhara*¹ (सूफी काव्य धारा), beginning from the poetic compositions of Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar in the thirteenth century A.D., and almost ending with Hashim Shah in the early nineteenth century A.D.

Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar (1172-1267 A.D.) of Pak Pattan was a great spiritualist who practised extreme asceticism. Farid, meaning "unique", was actually unique who sang of his love for God, yearned for union with the Divine Beloved and preached his Sufism through the medium of his poetic compositions to the masses.² His message had a wide humanitarian base for the moral and spiritual upliftment of the people. He was the first who gave expression to his inner feelings in an enchanting manner and wrote in his vernacular thus breaking the monopolised charm of the classical languages. His utterances sank deep down into the mind and brought about warmth and affection and generated brotherhood and fellow-feeling for all.

Baba Farid was followed by Madholal Husain, also known as Shah Husain (1539-1594 A.D.), who introduced the popular Persian measure of *Kafi* into Punjabi language to express his Sufistic ideology and added in his compositions an element of ecstasy, God-intoxication and, like the Persian Sufis, dancing and passionate singing. As the times were propitious under the benign rule of Akbar and his son Jahangir, he threw open challenges to the orthodoxy on various counts. He was the first who sang his own pangs of separation from the Universal Soul with whom till the end he constantly strove to attain union.

Sultan Bahu (1631-1691 A.D.), one of the greatest Sufis, maintaining his individuality, composed poetry which, though lacked in deep feelings, heart-rending pathos of separation (*birha*) of the soul from the Universal Soul, did not refer to the immortal stories of perfect love as the Sufis were wont to do,

nevertheless, abounded in deep religious outlook, sincerity of purpose and dignity of high spiritualism. He preferred *Ishq* (عشق) (Love for the Divine Beloved) not only to *Aqal* (عقل) (wisdom) but also to *Iman* ایمان (faith)³ and paved the way for attaining salvation by loving the Almighty God.

Bulleh Shah (1680-1758 A.D.), the greatest Sufi poet of the Punjab, when, in his second phase of development as a Sufi and a poet, turned a pantheistic under the influence of *Vedanta*, became totally convinced of God's omnipotence and omnipresence, experienced that cosmopolitan joy⁴ which knows no bounds. He was a staunch critic of religious bigotry and strongly opposed the set codes and rules of religion upheld by the *Ulema* which did not allow freedom of expressions. He advocated the path of reconciliation and talked of peace and unity among the followers of different faiths. He was totally absorbed in his love with all-pervading Universal Lord and he spoke of Him in terms highly spiritual and pure.

Bulleh Shah's contemporary Sayyid Waris Shah (1699-1772 A.D.) is by far the greatest Punjabi poet. He was initiated into Sufism by the *Gaddi-nashin* of Hazrat Baba Farid of Pak Pattan. *Qissa* of Hir and Ranjha is the principal composition of Waris Shah. He can be accredited to be the first Sufi poet who composed this *Qissa* and added a new dimension to Punjabi Sufi poetry. In this *Qissa*, Sufis, with their extra-ordinary vision and perception, find mysticism and divine knowledge of high order. The *Qissa* is encyclopaedic in its comprehension yet above every religious, communal and parochial barrier; it is poetry of the human heart, universal in its outlook and appeal. The *Qissa* proved to be a trend-setter and many Sufis thereafter followed and composed their verses based on the immortal love stories of perfect love giving allegorical interpretation to their intense feelings. The heroines in these tales stood for the Sufi (the Soul) and the heroes for God (the Beloved Sought). After the Sufi has attained union with God he ceases to be the heroine and becomes one with the Beloved Sought (God), the ideal of the Sufis of the Punjab.

Ali Haidar (1690-1785 A.D.) was a junior contemporary of Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah. He had to his credit great Sufistic attainments and during the troublous times of Aurangzeb and Muhammad Shah Rangila, his mystic poetry helped to maintain mental equilibrium of the people and brought much needed comfort and solace. He was a good lyricist and a good musician and played with the words which lent brilliancy to his language. His verses were sung by the *Qawwaals* and wandering minstrels with gusto.

Fard Faqir (C 1720-1790 A.D.) in his *Kasab Namahs* has explained that no profession is low, labour of any kind should be respected. In his *Siharfis*, spiritualism and hidden advices is the ideal pursued. He broke new grounds by adopting local trades and cottage industries and describing the process of weaving cloth on spiritual lines and using the vocabulary of popular cottage industries and trades for expressing his Sufistic ideas for easy comprehension by the common people.

Hashim Shah (1735-1843 A.D.) a renowned Sufi, a multi-lingual and a prolific writer, contemporary of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, gave a new thrust to Punjabi Sufi poetry. His Sufism is amply reflected in his *Qissa of Sassi Punnu*, *Siharfis* and quartets. His poetic compositions reveal great insight into the human mind. Punjabi scholars often compare him with Omār Khayyam, Persian poet of *Rubaiyat* fame, for his great abandon, ecstatic rapture, delicacy of expression and subdued melancholy.⁵ According to Hashim "temporal and spiritual love are the two flowers of one and the same plant."⁶ In his compositions, he "unfolded beautifully the sentiments of human mind and thus appealed directly to the hearts."⁷ Therein lies the true greatness of Hashim Shah.

After Hashim Shah, the glorious tradition was continued, albeit on a restricted scale, by the later Sufis such as Sayyid Ghulam Jilani (1749-1839 A.D.), Sayyid Miran Shah (1830-1913 A.D.), Khawaja Ghulam Farid (1841-1901 A.D.), Maulavi Ghulam Rasul (1842-1903 A.D.) Karim Baksh, Ghulam Mustafa Maghmum, Ghulam Husain Kelianwala, Muhammad Din and many others, but decline in Sufism and Sufistic stream of poetry became quite perceptible.

The Sufis by the middle of the nineteenth century had done their work, yet some continued to sing of the Beloved in the traditional manner, which, with the passage of time, also ceased altogether.

It goes to the credit of the great Sufi poets of the Punjab that they utilised such poetical modes, metres, refrains for expression of their inner feelings, yearnings and emotions which were quite popular and familiar to the people. They composed *Shaloks*, *Dohre*, *Dioreh*, *Kafis*, *Khayals*, *Bara-mahs* and *Siharfis*. Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar wrote excellent couplets; Shah Husain and Bulleh Shah composed unparalleled *Kafis* and lyrics; Waris Shah excelled in writing *Qissa*; Sultan Bahu, Ali Haidar and Fard Faqir in composing *Siharfis* and Hashim Shah in composing quartets.

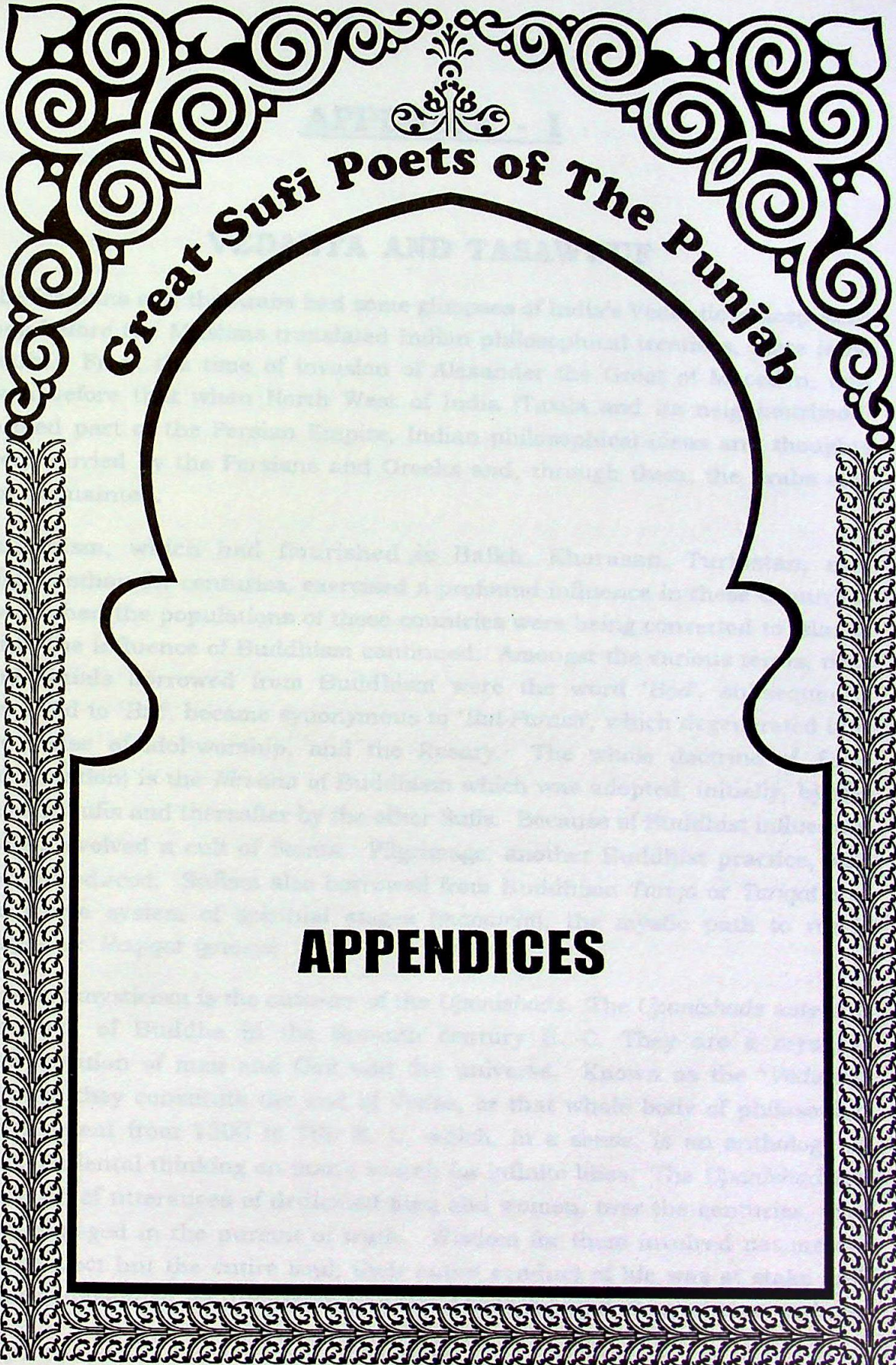
Punjab is justifiably proud of her great Sufi poets of extraordinary perception and spiritual attainments and for having given birth to a tradition of poetic rendition of high order which contains great moral, spiritual and literary values; more so because the words and expressions employed by them are so common of every-day use. These Sufi saints and poets derived the images, similes and metaphors from social customs, trades, cottage industries, seasons, surroundings of every-day life, particularly from the rural Punjab, and, in the process, contributed so much and so well to the linguistic, literary and cultural heritage of the Punjab.

With the introduction of western education in the Punjab after the province was annexed by the British to their empire in 1849 A.D., there was an upsurge and a kind of renaissance took place in the Punjabi language and literature from the seventies of the nineteenth century onwards and almost all the major poets of the Punjab, both Muslims as well as non-Muslims, were greatly influenced by this stream of *Sufiana Kalam*, or *Sufi Kaviya-dhara*. Even poets of modern period, including Bhai Vir Singh (1878-1957 A.D.), generally acknowledged to be the father of modern Punjabi literature, Dhani Ram Chatrak (1876-1954 A.D.) who is known as a '*Maha Kavi*' because of his enormous literary output, Dr. Mohan Singh Diwana (1899-1984 A.D.), a versatile writer covering wide ranging subjects, Dr. Faqir Muhammad Faqir (1900-1983 A.D.) whose Sufistic compositions were moulded in the progressive style and lyrics were thought-provoking, Mohan Singh Mahir (1905-1978 A.D.) a poet with semi-modern outlook influenced by the Freudian mode of thought, and even Shiv Batalvi (1936-1973 A.D.), known for his poignantly lyrical precosity, were all immensely influenced by them. It must be said that the distinctive features of Sufistic stream of poetry are so firmly entrenched and intertwined in the Punjabi language and literature that they are continuing to inspire and illuminate the present day poets such as Amrita Pritam (born 1919 A.D.), known for her unorthodox approach and extremely liberal outlook transcending artificial barriers, Harbhajan Singh (born 1920 A.D.), generally known for his avowed adherence to existentialism and surrealism, and Prabhjot Kaur (born 1924 A.D.), popularly known for romantic poetry and powerful expression. The influence of *Sufiana Kalam*, or *Sufi Kaviya-dhara*, in Punjabi language and literature is so great and so strong that even the writers and poets of pure romance have absorbed so much of mystic ideas that they are often thought to be Sufis. It has indeed bestowed a remarkable legacy for subsequent generations.

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2. Chopra, R. M., *The Legacy of The Punjab*, p. 10.
3. Shan, op. cit., p. 10.
4. L. Rama Krishna, *Panjabi Sufi Poets*, p. 58.
5. Mohan Singh, Dr. *A History of Punjabi Literature*, p. 72.
6. Shan, op. cit., p. 14.
7. Budh Singh, Bawa, *Hashim Shah*, published in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, p. 22 quoted by Dr. Shan, op. cit., p. 16.

APPENDICES



Great Sufi Poets of The Punjab

APPENDICES

Great Sikh Poets of The Punjab

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - I

VEDANTA AND TASAWWUF

The Iranians and the Arabs had some glimpses of India's Vedantic conceptions, long before the Muslims translated Indian philosophical treatises, there is no doubt. From the time of invasion of Alexander the Great of Macedon, and even before that when North West of India (Taxila and its neighbourhood) formed part of the Persian Empire, Indian philosophical ideas and thoughts were carried by the Persians and Greeks and, through them, the Arabs also got acquainted.

Buddhism, which had flourished in Balkh, Khorasan, Turkistan, and Afghanistan for centuries, exercised a profound influence in these countries. Even when the populations of these countries were being converted to Islamic faith, the influence of Buddhism continued. Amongst the various terms, rites and rituals borrowed from Buddhism were the word '*Bod*', subsequently distorted to '*But*', became synonymous to '*But-Parasti*', which degenerated into the sense of idol-worship, and the Rosary. The whole doctrine of *Fana* (annihilation) is the *Nirvana* of Buddhism which was adopted, initially, by the Iranian Sufis and thereafter by the other Sufis. Because of Buddhist influences Sufism evolved a cult of Saints. Pilgrimage, another Buddhist practice, was also introduced. Sufism also borrowed from Buddhism *Tariqa* or *Tariqat* and the whole system of spiritual stages (*maqamat*), the mystic path to reach *Haqiqat* or *Haqiqat* (gnosis).

Vedantic mysticism is the outcome of the *Upanishads*. The *Upanishads* antedate the birth of Buddha in the Seventh century B. C. They are a mystical interpretation of man and God and the universe. Known as the "*Vedanta*" because they constitute the end of Vedas, or that whole body of philosophic development from 1500 to 700 B. C. which, in a sense, is an anthology of transcendental thinking on man's search for infinite bliss. The *Upanishad* are made up of utterances of dedicated men and women, over the centuries, who were engaged in the pursuit of truth. Wisdom for them involved not merely the intellect but the entire soul; their entire conduct of life was at stake and success depended on understanding the meaning and destiny of man and the

Universe. The sages affirmed that the *Upanishads* were revealed to them by the power of their penance and the grace of God. These were the deliverances of seers and savants in a state of God-intoxication.

The *Upanishads* also discuss the means by which higher knowledge can be obtained. The end of this endeavour is to know *Brahman* (God) or the *atman* (soul) and this knowledge is, therefore, named the *Brahma-vidya* or the *Atma-Vidya*. The way to higher knowledge leads to the state of unity, the realisation of identity, confluence of being and thought.¹ In order to reach that stage certain preparatory conditions and a discipline are required which should be in consonance with the law of *Dharma* (the way of righteousness). The preparatory conditions are : deep study, worship, penance, patience, alms-giving.

The other alternative prescribed is to have discipleship of a teacher or master who knows the ways; and cultivation of certain qualities. Within man is seated *atman* (soul) which is pure bliss; it is known by tranquillity, self-restraint, patience and purity of body and mind.²

The discipline consists of complete mastery over one's mind and realise the unity of the Self and the Absolute.³ By discipline of the mind, the senses are merged into mind, mind into knowledge, knowledge into the great self, the great self into the Absolute.⁴ This revelation of the Absolute, obtains freedom from fetters and sorrow; sickness, old age, and death are overcome. *Atman* (soul) obtains *Samadhi* (absorption). In the state of *Samadhi*, the consciousness of subject and object disappears and the state of selflessness is reached. This is the supreme object of the philosophy of the mysticism of the *Upanishads*. In this manner not only a philosophy is propounded but a practical course of life and the goal to be obtained is laid down by the *Upanishads*.

The *Upanishads* seek truth and pursue it by reason. This has universal application as because knowledge of the self and the truth is the right of every human being irrespective of caste, creed or colour; none should be deprived of it. (It is reminiscent of the universal message enshrined in the teachings of *Shrimad Bhagvad Gita*).

Life is a pilgrimage and man is a pilgrim, according to the *Upanishads*. The point of departure of the pilgrim is his natural state. Therefore, a firm faith and a strong conviction are the pre-requisites of the pilgrims who are of stout heart and do not tire easily; who have undergone rigorous discipline only they

can reach the top - the desired goal. This doctrine of *Vedanta* is found in the fundamental teachings and practices of *Tasawwuf* (Sufism) right from the Tenth century A.D.

Thus it will be seen that the main features of *Vedanta* had been absorbed into Sufism before its arrival in India.

Muhiuddin Ibn al-Arabi (1165-1240 A.D.),⁵ the great master of Sufism, gave a new doctrine named *وَحْدَةُ الوجود* *Wahdatal Wajud*, the Unity of Existence. He affirms that God is one and the universe is His reflection. Creation is a process of emanation of which the three steps are -

- i) the stage of absolute unity *احاديث* (*ahadiat*)
- ii) the stage of latent or potential multiplicity *وحدت* (*wahadat*); and
- iii) the stage of apparent or actual multiplicity *وحدانيات* (*wahadiat*).

The multiplicity expresses itself in the trinity of soul *روح* (*ruh*), forms *مثال* (*mithal*) and body *جسم* (*jism*).⁶

The doctrine of Ibn-al-Arabi fuses together elements derived from Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, Christianity and *Vedanta*. It is quite possible because he came in contact with diverse religious systems and people. He was born at Murcia in Spain (Europe), he was initiated into Sufism at Tunis (Africa) and died at Damascus (Asia).

There is a common discipline both for *Tasawwuf* and *Vedanta*. It includes purification of self, mastering of passions and desires, filling of the mind exclusively with the thought of God, obtaining control over bodily functions and mental processes, till the objective world ceases to distract consciousness and passes away (*fana, nirvana*) from phenomenal existence and attains union with the Divine. Objectively viewed, the Indian concept of *Advaita* (when the believer sees all pervading spirit, God, in all and independently of all religions) is the Islamic doctrine of *Wahdatal Wajud*⁷ (when God is Absolute Being, and is the sole source of all existence; in Him alone Being and Existence are one and inseparable).

The Sufis in the Punjab were held in high esteem among the masses who followed their simple teachings with earnestness. The Sufis laid stress upon the dignity of man. They exhorted that every individual must reach the highest goal of human life by his own efforts and they rejected the claim of

special sanctity of priests. Their simple teachings found favour with all and became wide-spread.

Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the brightest jewel in the crown of the Sufi poets of Iran, said in the following couplet, in Persian -

چشم بند گوش بند لب بند
گر نه بینی نور حق بر من بخند

चश्म बंदें गोश बंदें लब बबंदें
गर ना बीनी नूरे हक्क बर मन बखंदें

*"Chashm bund gosh bund lab ba-bund
Gar na bini noor-i-haqq bar man bakhund"*

(You shut your eyes, close your ears and shut your mouth (and concentrate) and if still you do not see the illumination of Truth then you can laugh at me.)

Rumi has also explained the essence of *Tasawwuf* in the following couplet, in Persian, which is the eternal message of *Vedanta* and *Tasawwuf* :

تو برائے وصل کردن آمری
نے برائے فصل کردن آمری

तू बराए वस्ल करदन आमदी
नै बराए फ़स्ल करदन आमदी

*"Tu baraye wasl kardan amedi
Nei baraye fasl kardan amedi".*

(You have come (into this world) for the sake of union with the Lord, and not for separation from Him.)

The Sufis played a significant role in the synthesis of Hindu and Islamic cultures in the Punjab. The hybrid culture, which emerged in the form of a composite culture, drew nectar from both *Vedanta* and *Tasawwuf* and was the product of extensive inter-actions between the two communities and opened the doors for further exploration in the synchronisation of two diverse beliefs and practices in the years to follow.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is mentioned in the *Taittiriya Upanishad*.
2. As stated in The *Maitri Upanishad*.
3. The *Swetasvatara Upanishad* describes the practice and explains its philosophy. The Practice consists of two parts. The first part prescribes a physiological discipline, such as control of breath (*pranayama*) and control of the senses of mind (*pratyahera*). The second part consists of psychological discipline, namely, collection of the mind and its abstraction from external activity (*dhaarana*) and meditation to understand the Real (*dhyana*). These steps lead to absorption (*samadhi*) of thought into Reality, of subject into object, for the realisation of oneness of individual soul and the Universal Soul.
4. The *Bṛhadaranyaka Upanishad* tells us that he who knows Brahman (God) or that state of Supreme Sublime Bliss, having become calm, self-controlled, withdrawn, patient and collected sees the Self in his own self, sees all in the Universal Self.
5. Muhiuddin Ibn al-Arabi was a copious writer and Egyptian Sufi al-Sha'rani (died 1565 A.D.) gives a conservative estimate of about 400 books written by him.
6. B. N. Pande, *Vedant and Tasawwuf*, Indo-Iranica, Vol 48 (1+4) p. 33.
7. Ibid., p. 33. Also Arberry, A. J., *Sufism*, p. 100.

APPENDIX - II

STORY OF SOHNI AND MAHIWAL

In Gujrat, on the banks of river Chenab, there was a potter by the name of Tulla who had a beautiful daughter named Sohni. A handsome young merchant of Bokhara, named Izzat Beg, perhaps during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, was returning to his native place. While passing through the town of Gujrat he saw Sohni and fell in love with her at first sight. He was so smitten by this love that instead of proceeding further to his native township, he stayed back in Gujrat and all his companions left him. Izzat Beg regularly and constantly visited the house of the potter to have a glimpse of Sohni on the pretext of buying some pottery and in this process converted all his hard cash into pottery. Left with no money, he opened a shop to sell pottery. Since his mind was always full of Sohni, he neglected his business and soon he had to wind up his business. Just to remain near Sohni, he took up a job of a menial in the house of Tulla. Pleased with his work, Tulla gave him work to graze his buffaloes and from then onwards, Izzat Beg was known as Mahiwal which, literally, means a grazier of buffaloes.

One day Mahiwal accosted Sohni and confessed his unbounden love for her. Handsome as he was, Sohni also promised him her faithful love. Their love was soon discovered. Mahiwal was dismissed by Tulla and started living across the river Chenab in a hutment as a *faqir*. Sohni was given in marriage to a neighbour's son, with whom she refused to be associated. Through a friend Sohni communicated with Mahiwal and at night Mahiwal would swim across the river to meet Sohni. Once Mahiwal received a wound in his thigh and could not come for many days. Love-lorn Sohni then decided to go across the river on an earthen jar to meet her lover. On coming back she hid the earthen jar in the shrubs on the river bank. Sohni's sister-in-law discovered the secret and replaced the jar by an unbaked one. As usual, the following night, which was stormy, Sohni entered the river with the jar but soon the jar dissolved and she was thrown into the stormy waters. She cried loudly for her lover, and Mahiwal, who was impatiently waiting for a tryst on the other side of the river, heard her cries also jumped into the river. Sohni was drowned before Mahiwal could reach her. Struck with grief Mahiwal also let himself go beneath the waves and soon joined his Beloved in the next world.

APPENDIX III

STORY OF MIRZA AND SAHIBAN

In the township of Danabad, there lived Chaudhury Chibbal, a well-known landlord, who was blessed with a son named Mirza Khan. Mirza grew up to be a handsome youth like the legendry Yusuf (Joseph). He acquired proficiency as a good archer and always carried with him a bow and a quiver full of arrows.

In Jhang, about sixty kilometres from Danabad, across the river Chanab, in the clan of Syals, there was a rich Zamindar by the name of Khiva to whom a daughter was born and named Sahiban. Sahiban grew up to be a lissome lass of extra-ordinary beauty like a heavenly nymph.

Mirza spent most of his childhood and adolescence at Jhang where lived his maternal grandfather. In their growing years, Mirza and Sahiban used to go to the mosque together to learn from the *Mulla*. They were struck by the arrow of cupid and had fallen in love with each other. When *Mulla* of the mosque came to know about their love affair, he tried to dissuade the lovers and took Mirza to task, strongly reprimanded him and warned of the consequences once Chowdhury Khiva and his son, Shamir, came to know about it. Whereupon Mirza heeding the advice of the *Mulla*, came back to his native town of Danabad.

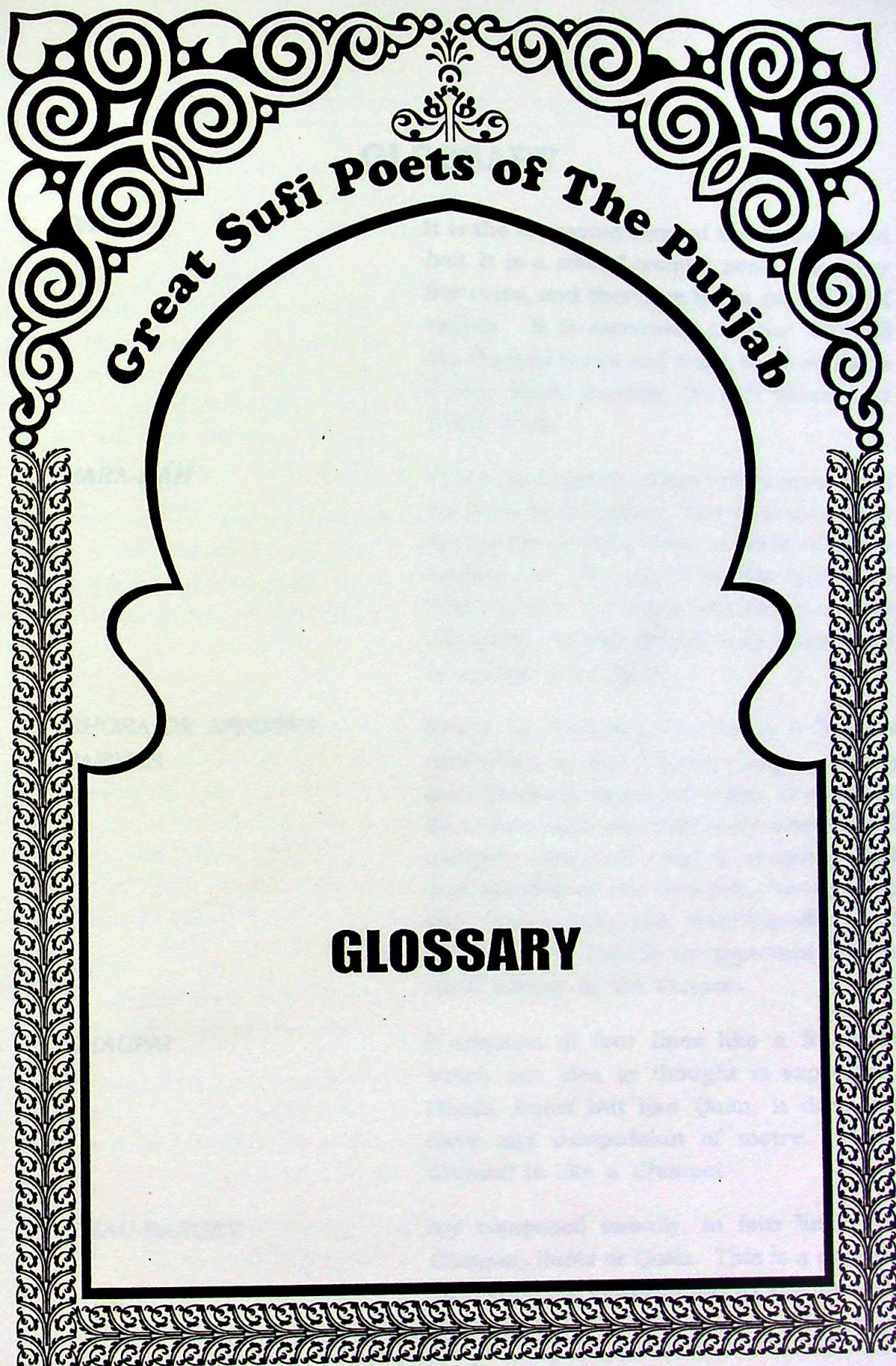
At Danabad, Mirza, love-lorn, was greatly affected by the pangs of separation from his beloved, Sahiban. The condition of Sahiban at Jhang was no better. When pangs of separation became unbearable for Mirza, he took his mare and came back to Jhang. Through Bibo, he kept meeting his dear Sahiban. The clandestine meetings of the lovers became the talk of the town. Fearing wrath of Chowdhury Khiva and his men, Mirza, once again, came back to Danabad.

Love of Mirza and Sahiban was soon discovered. Sahiban's parents, in the meantime, arranged for their daughter's marriage with one Tair Kamal of the clan of Chandara. It was agreed that in five days *barat* of the Chandaras will come to Jhang for the wedding. As soon as Sahiban came to know of this arrangement, she was greatly perturbed. She arranged for this information to be conveyed to Mirza with the request that he should come to take her away.

Mirza, on getting this information, despite the counsel of his mother, father and sisters against going to Jhang, readied himself with a bow and arrows, immediately left for Jhang on his mare. On reaching Jhang, on the eve of the proposed wedding of Sahiban with Tair Kamal, Mirza met Sahiban who eloped with him. The lovers turned towards Danabad.

Mirza was dead tired and decided to take rest in the jungle on the bank of river Chanab before crossing it. While settling down to rest, an experienced archer as he was, he demonstrated to Sahiban his marksmanship and prowess with the bow. Sahiban was simply flabberghasted to witness such a splendid display of archery which beset her mind athinking that if her brother Shamir and other kith and kin in her pursuit came anywhere near Mirza, they will have no chance whatsoever and they will be killed instantly by such as experienced archer. When Mirza fell asleep under the tree, Sahiban's fear over-took her and she, surreptitiously, hid bow and arrows of Mirza.

In Jhang, when the Syals came to know of Sahiban's elopement with Mirza, they were furious and seething with revenge. Under the leadership of Shamir, they came in hot pursuit of the lovers. Shamir and his men soon came where the lovers were resting and surrounded them. Mirza was challenged who fought valiantly but without his bow and arrows was instantly done to death. Sahiban was beaten up mercilessly and carried back to Jhang. Where she did not survive for long. Thus ended the love story of these lovers.



Great Self Poets of The Punjab

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

1. *BAIT* : It is the corrupted form of the Arabic word *bait*. It is a sort of couplet poem, has very few rules, and therefore has a good deal of variety. It is extremely popular with all the Punjabi poets and Sufis such as Baba Farid, Shah Husain, Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah.

2. *BARA-MAH* : This is an account of the twelve months of the Punjabi calendar. The poet describes the pangs of separation in each of these months. At the end of twelfth month he relates the ultimate union with the Almighty. Almost all the Sufi poets have composed *Bara-Mahs*.

3. *BHORA OR SPINNING PARTIES* : Bhora, or Spinning Parties, is a famous institution of the Punjab village. Young girls, generally unmarried ones, sit together with their spinning-wheels (*Churkhas*) and compete with each other in spinning skill and scandalous conversation. Young girls and brides have red spinning-wheels of smaller size. This is an important link in rural society in the Punjab.

4. *CHAUPAI* : It consists of four lines like a *Rubai* in which one idea or thought is expressed. Unlike *Rubai* but like *Qatta*, it does not have any compulsion of metre. *Amrit Chhand* is like a *Chaupai*.

5. *CHAU-BARGEY* : Are composed usually, in four lines like *Chaupai*, *Rubai* or *Qatta*. This is a popular form of verse composition in the Punjabi language.

6. **CHHAND** : The Chhands have four *tukks*, all rhyming in the same manner. A Chhand resembles *Dohra* (quartet).
7. **CHURKHA** : The Punjabi name for spinning of yarn is 'Kattna'. A *Churkha* (spinning-wheel) used to be an inseparable companion of every woman, young or old, in the rural Punjab. This was an important link in rural society. Women spun cotton yarn and the village weaver (*Julaha*) made it into cloth.

Because of its importance in the rural life, Mahatma Gandhi, in recent times, used *Churkha* or spinning-wheel, as a symbol of political agitation or as a symbol of indigenous production.
8. **DHOLE, TAPPE AND BOLIAN** : Verse composed in a line and a half is known as *Tappa*. In the same metre, other songs versified are known as *Dhola*, *Mahia* and *Bolian*. They are also reminiscent of the pangs of the separation of lovers - *Dhole* and *Simmi*, who lived in the Saandal Bar. This form of verse shows deep feelings of the separated lovers and are very popular with the poets.
9. **DOHA** : It is a couplet form of verse which Punjabi poets have often used in their compositions.
10. **DOHRE** : It should not be confused with Hindi *doha*. It, in fact, resembles closely *Chhand*. It has four *tukks*, all rhyming in the same manner as in a quartet.
11. **GHAZAL** : This has its origin in Persia and Sheikh Sa'adi is credited to have written the first *Ghazal* which reached its culmination under Hafiz Shirazi. First Punjabi poet who composed a *Ghazal* was Hamid Gamon

Khan and this form of Punjabi poetry came of age under Maula Baksh Kushta of Amritsar. Ghazals have also been composed by Mohan Singh Mahir, Darshan Singh Awara, Dhani Ram Chatrak, Dr. Fakir and others.

Ghazal is that form of poetic composition in which the lover expresses his love to the beloved. In Persian, *Ghazaal*, means a deer. Since deer has lovely eyes (*ghazal*), which is a sign of beauty, this form of poetry is freely adopted by the writers in Punjabi and Urdu in expressing love to the beloved.

12. *KAFI* : This name is borrowed from the Persian *Kafiya*, meaning rhyme, and is applied to Punjabi Sufi poetry generally. Usually it is a poem on the divine attributes and sometimes on different Sufi beliefs.
13. *KABIT* : This is a poetic form of long metre and each line is divided into four parts; the fourth part is slightly smaller than the other three. In Hindi *bit* means a sentence.
14. *KHAYALS* : These are nothing but *Kafis* composed to be sung in different musical measures. A '*Khayal*' in Urdu means a '*thought*' or an '*idea*'. It is because of this that the *Kafis*, which were various thoughts of the poet and were composed at different times, were put together and named *Khayal*.
15. *KOR'RAH* : It consists of four or six lines and each line has 6, 7 or 13 words.
16. *KUNDLIAN* : This is a stanza of six lines in which the first and the last word of the stanza is the same. Then the last part of the second

line and the first part of the third line and the first word of the first line matches with the last word of the last line.

17. MEHNDI

: It is a Henna Plant, cultivated throughout the subcontinent for its leaves and as a hedgeplant for gardens. The powdered leaves, beaten up with Catechu and made into paste are much used by women to dye their hands and feet a reddish orange; and by men to dye their beards and hair. Tinting of fingertips and palms of hands with Henna is usual with young girls on festive occasions, particularly at weddings. Brides and bridegrooms still have the palms of their hands and the soles of their feet tinted with Henna, which retains its importance. The '*Suhag Pura*' which is a paper packet tied with a ceremonial red and white '*mauli*' (tape or twine), and is sent from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride, contains Henna as a symbol of matrimonial happiness which is used to tint the bride's hands and feet. The '*Mehndi*' is also considered as a symbol of virginity.

18. MUSSALLASS

: This is a form of a stanza composed of three lines and is also known as *TISSA*. Similarly, a stanza of four lines is known as *MURRABBA* or *CHAUKONA*; a stanza of five lines is known as *MUKHAMMASS* or *PUNJKONA*; and a stanza of six lines is known as *MUSSADDASS* or *CHHISSA*.

19. QISSA

: It is a form of verse in which, generally, a tragic story of two young people, who love each other madly, is narrated. The lovers are separated by parents and cruel social

conventions to which they pay little attention, and, disregarding them, try to meet each other. This disregard brings misfortune and so they die, ultimately to be united in death for eternity. Some *Qissas* were written on the popular legends and on puranic tales. *Qissas* are usually composed on *siharfi* principle or of *baits* which are also known as *shaloks*.

20. SARKHANDI

: It is a poem in free verse which has no compulsion of metre or *radif* and *kafia*. It is very popular with some of the modern poets.

21. SHALOK

: It means *Shah-lok*, literally, world of the king or word of the king; a thought or an idea described in two or more lines in as small number of words as possible. *Shaloks* of Baba Farid or of Guru Nanak are popular.

22. SIHARFI

: It is an acrostic on the alphabet. It is not found in any other Indian language; it is a Punjabi form. The oldest verse of this kind is found in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs and was composed by Guru Arjan Dev. Later on, it appears to have become a popular verse - form of the Sufis. It is not a short poem, as some believe, but is a collection of short poems. The letters of the alphabet are taken consecutively, and words whose initials they form are employed to give metrical expression to the poet's ideas.

23. SIWAYYA OR DEORAH

: In this form of poetry, with each line another quarter or half line is added and is, therefore, known as *Siwayya* (one and quarter) the *Deorah* (one and a half).

The mystical poets of Persia used imagery in their compositions of *Ghazals* (lyrics), *Rubais* (quatrains) and *Nazams* (poems) where the language of human love was used freely to describe the relations between the mystic and his Divine Beloved. The Punjabi Sufi poets followed the same pattern in their compositions. In order to understand the love of allegory and to grasp the inner meaning of the allusions given in the compositions of the Sufi poets, which, in fact, give them spiritual values, it is necessary to understand the interpretation of their technical vocabulary based on the interpretation of Mohsin Faid Kashani, a Persian Sufi author of the seventeenth century, who wrote in his *Risala-i-Mishwaq*, which is explained here :

1. *ABROO* (Eye-brow) : God's Attributes, which conceal His Essence.
2. *ABID* : Devotee.
3. *ADAB* (Decent manners) : In religious conduct.
4. *AHZAB*, Sing. *HIZB*, : Prayers.
5. *BAHR* (Sea) *QULZUM* (Ocean) : The revelation of the Divine Essence. To the Sufi the whole world is like a vault (*kumkhana*) containing wine of Being and the inborn love of God; each atom of the world is a *paimana* (goblet) of the wine of His love, and the goblet is full of this wine.
6. *BAQA* : Continuance.
7. *BUT* (Idol) : Every object of worship other than God. It also indicates a manifestation of the Divine Beauty; sometimes it connotes a Perfect Man (*Insan-al-Kamil*) or a Guide (*Murshid*) who is the Pole (*Qutab*) of his time.
8. *CHASHM* (Eye) : God's beholding the aptitude of His servants. The "eye" is *mast* (intoxicated) or *bimar* (languishing) to indicate that He has no need of man. The *ghanata* (glance) of the "eye" refers to God's granting of

9. *DU'A* (Prayer) : spiritual repose after anguish or anguish after repose.
10. *FIQH* : Being constantly suppliant to God.
11. *FIRASA* (Insight) : Religious law, juristic literature.
12. *FUTUWA* (Chivalrousness) : As the Prophet said, "Beware of the believer's insight, for he sees with the Light of God."
13. *HAYA* (Shame) : Fulfilling the terms of Tradition with complete self-disregard.
14. *HURRIYA* (Magnanimity) : A shame of being found wanting in sincerity.
15. *HUZN* (Sorrow) : The quality of being *hurr*, a "freeman", putting the interests of others before one's own.
16. *ISHQ-I-HAQIQI* : For past sin.
17. *ISHQ-I-MAJAZI* : The Love Divine.
18. *ISTIQAMA* (Uprightness) : The worldly love or banal love.
19. *KHAL* (Mole) : A state in which God's grace becomes perpetual and it implies perfect performance of God's service.
20. *KHANQAH* : The point of Real Unity, which is concealed and is represented as black.
21. *KHATT* (Down on the cheek) : The convent.
22. *KHARABAT* (Tavern) : The manifestation of Reality in spiritual forms.
23. *KHARABATI* (Tavern-haunter) : Pure Unity (*wahadat*).
24. : The true lover who is freed from the snare of discrimination and who believes that all acts and qualities merge in Divine Acts and Qualities.

24. *KHUSHU* : Fearfulness, humility.
25. *LAB* (Lip) : The life giving property of God, and His keeping man in existence. The *Dahan* (mouth) is said to be narrow as a reference that the source of man's being is invisible.
26. *MA'ARIFA* (gnosis) : Which appears to mark the transition in complete annihilation in God, or passing away in God.
27. *MUJAHADA* : The earnest seeker after the mystical life. It is a collateral form of *Jihad* (the so-called "Holy War").
28. *MURID, SHAGIRD* : The disciple.
29. *QANA'A* (Contentment) : The Prophet said, "Contentment is an imperishable treasure."
30. *RUKH* (Face, Cheek) : The revelation of Divine Beauty in Attributes of Grace, for example, the Gracious, the Clement, the Lifegiving, the Guide, the Bountiful, Light, Divine Reality.
31. *SABR* (Patience) : Fortitude.
32. *SABU* (Pitcher) *KHUM* (Jar) : The revelation of Divine Names and Qualities.
33. *SAQI* (Wine-bearer) : Reality, as loving to manifest itself in every form.
34. *SAKHA, JUD* (Bounty, Generosity) : The Prophet said that bountiful and generous man is near to God and near to men.
35. *SUMT* (Silence) : It is interpreted both literally, as meaning that a man should learn to govern his tongue, and metaphorically, as referring to a heart that

- silently accepts whatever God may decree.
36. *SHEIKH, PIR* : The elder, the saintly person.
37. *SHARAB* (Wine) : Ecstatic experience due to the revelation of the True Beloved, destroying the foundations of reason.
38. *SIDQ* (Truthfulness) : In thought and act.
39. *SOHBA* : Companionship.
40. *TABAQAAT* : Classes.
41. *TAQWA* (the awe of God) : To strengthen the resolve and escape Divine chastisement.
42. *TAUHID* : True belief in One God.
43. *ZAHID* : Abstainer.
44. *ZIKR* (Recollection) : Of God.
45. *ZULF* (Tress) : The revelation of Divine Majesty in Attributes of Omnipotence, for example, the Withholder, the Seizer, the Omnipotent, the Deluder; Darkness; phenomena as a veil of concealing Divine Reality.

Punjabi Sufis in their compositions employed words concerning *tasawwuf* from Arabic and Persian technical terms. They also made ample use of the vocabulary of local trades and cottage industries. The Punjabi poetry was mainly nursed in small towns and villages. Since the most important industry of the Punjab was cotton industry, the terms connected with this industry were freely used to make their spiritual ideas easily comprehensible to the simple village folks. Here is given vocabulary related to cotton manufacturing which is amply reflected in the Punjabi Sufi poetry :

1. *ANGITHI* : A small contraption of iron or earth to hold fire (intense desire).
2. *ATTI* : A skein of spun cotton.

3. *BANAULE* : Cotton seeds (here seeds refer to *Kam* (sex), *Karodh* (anger), *Lobh* (selfishness) and *Moh* (attachment).
4. *BHAMBAR* : A flame or a big fire (consuming fire for the love of the Divine Beloved).
5. *CHARKHARI* : The wheel of the spinning-wheel on which the thread turns (symbol for body and mind).
6. *CHHAJJ* : A tray of thin reeds, used for winnowing agricultural products (for winnowing the real from the unreal).
7. *CHHAJJLI* : A tray larger than a *chhajj* and used to winnow the threshing floor (for sifting the real from the unreal).
8. *CHHALLI* or *MUDDA* : A hank of spun yarn (cleansed soul).
9. *CHHIKKU* : A small basket to hold the hanks.
10. *CHURKHA* : A spinning wheel (symbol for the body and mind).
11. *DAJ* : Dowry consisting of dresses, the major part of which is prepared by the bride herself; a trousseau (good deeds of the seeker after truth).
12. *GANDH* : A knot to unite the two ends of a broken thread (to unite or to remember).
13. *GHUND* : That part of a woman's veil which she throws over her face to conceal it from men (veil of ignorance or veil to hide shame).
14. *GOIL* : A small hut of mud and grass for the person who keeps watch. (The world of the Sufi is like a *goil* for temporary stay.)

15. *HATTHI* or *HATTHA* : The handle that turns the wheel (lever which turns the body and mind).
16. *JHARU* or *BAUKAR* : A broom used for sweeping the floor or to collect together grain spread in the sun (a device for sweeping of misdeeds and for gathering of good deeds).
17. *JULAHA* : A weaver.
18. *KANGHI* : A heavy comb by which the threads of the woof are pressed home.
19. *KATTNA* : To spin (for concentration and meditation).
20. *KHADDI* : A hand-loom (for weaving of fabric on spiritual lines).
21. *MANKA* : Circular beads used as pivots for the spindle (symbol of spiritual pivot).
22. *MUNNA* : A pillar of the spinning-wheel which holds the spindle in place.
23. *NARA* : A weaver's shuttle.
24. *PENJAH* or *DHUNIYA* : Cotton carder.
25. *PETA* : Woof or weft (of spiritualism).
26. *PINJANAH* or *DHUN'-NA* : To card cotton (to improve self).
27. *PUNNI* : A small roll of carded cotton prepared for spinning.
28. *RANGNA* : To dye (in the colour of love for God).
29. *TANA* : Warp (of spiritualism).
30. *TAND* : Thread spun on the spinning-wheel.
31. *TRAKKLA* : Spindle of the spinning-wheel.

32. *TRINJHAN* : A party of young girls or women for spinning in competition.
33. *TUMBNA, PINJANAH* or *DHUN'-NA* (in Haryanawi dialect) : Which means to open the cotton cocoons with hand, usually performed by women and to card it (or improve it on spiritual lines).
34. *UN'NAN* or *BUN'NAN* : To weave.
35. *WELNA* : The instrument used for separating the seeds from Cotton
36. *WELVI* : One who works on the *Welna*.

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